STUDIES IN THE SCHOLIA ON AESCHYLUS
I

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OLE LANGWITZ SMITH

STUDIES IN THE SCHOLIA ON AESCHYLUS

I

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXV

STUDIES IN THE SCHOLIA ON AESCHYLUS

I: THE RECENSIONS OF DEMETRIUS TRICLINIUS

BY

OLE LANGWITZ SMITH

With 11 Plates

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXV

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To the Memory of my Father

CONTENTS

List of Plates viii

Preface ix

Note on Abbreviations, Critical Notation and Manuscripts cited xiii

List of Sigla xiv

Introduction 1

I. The Manuscripts 5

Excursus A 41

Excursus B 52

II. The Problem of an Earlier Triclinian Commentary . . . 55

III. The Principle of Strophic Responsion and its Effect on Text and Colometry 114

IV. The Textual and Metrical Work in the Anapaestic Sections and the Choral Odes 155

V. An Analysis of Lines 40-257 of the Agamemnon 229

Appendix I 240

Appendix II 253

Appendix III 258

Bibliography 267

Index of Manuscripts 273

Index Locorum 275

General Index 285

Plates 1-11 . . . . at the end of the Book

LIST OF PLATES

1. *Laur.* 31,8 f. 41v
2. *Laur.* 31,8 f. 47r
3. *Laur.* 31,8 f. 30r
4. *Laur.* 31,8 f. 31v
5. *Laur.* 31,8 f. 49r
6. Parma, *Fondo Parmense* 154 f. 79v
7. *Par. gr.* 2821 f. 15r
8. Modena α.U.9.22 f. 93v
9. *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94 f. 9r
10. *Laur.* 32,2 f. 142r
11. *Ven. Marc.* 616 f. 109v

PREFACE

When I began working on the scholia on Aeschylus I had primarily a new edition in mind; so many scholars had lamented the fact that no reliable critical text of the Greek commentaries on this poet existed. I very soon realized that a plain text of the scholia would only be of restricted value since the whole problem of the composition of the scholia and their nature had to be treated at some length to make the edition intelligible, and this would demand prolegomena of a length incompatible with the usual size of a normal edition. I therefore planned to publish a kind of companion volume to my edition, entitled *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus.* However, I was soon compelled to give up the idea of a single volume; so little had been done on these scholia and so much ought to be done that one volume would not easily do justice to the problems involved. Thus, when I had finished the manuscript of the first part of my edition containing the scholia on the *Suppliants* and the *Oresteia* I began work on the Triclinian scholia in order to start with the latest of the Greek commentators. My aim was to concentrate on the old scholia on the *Oresteia* in the Triclinian MSS. Again my plans were thwarted, for the non-metrical scholia could not be treated apart from the metrical scholia if I were to solve the problems debated between Eduard Fraenkel and Alexander Turyn about the nature of the GFE scholia. Accordingly, my first contribution to the investigation of the scholia on Aeschylus is concerned with the metrical scholia of Triclinius. But in order that the reader may understand the character of the present studies I must also point out that the Triclinian metrical scholia on Aeschylus can neither be contemplated in isolation from the text of the poet nor from the other metrical commentaries written by the Byzantine scholar. I have, therefore, tried to investigate as fully as is possible in the present state of our knowledge of such commentaries, the theory and practice in these scholia and also the text of Aeschylus available to Triclinius.

I am painfully aware of the heterogeneous nature of the present book; the reader may feel that too many problems have been left unsolved and that a number of issues might have been formulated more strongly. To some extent I may be blamed for this fault, but

in fairness the reader should bear in mind how much of the relevant material lies buried in the libraries and how little there has been done on Triclinius' work along the lines that I have followed in this book.

I may perhaps offer a few words as a partial explanation for some of the loose ends, those concerning the MSS and the investigation of their contents. The MSS of Aeschylus were the subject of Turyn's first book in his great and illuminating series of studies on the textual transmission of the Greek tragedians. It was written during the last war at a time when it was extremely difficult to obtain supplementary information. Moreover, in his work on Aeschylus Turyn seems to have relied on secondary sources to a much larger extent than he did in his later research. Consequently the MSS of Aeschylus are much less known than those of Sophocles and Euripides.

We need an investigation on the scale of Turyn's Euripides book in order to sort out the strands of the transmission of Aeschylus and to evaluate the MSS. This work cannot be done by a single person working in a place far from the great manuscript libraries. If I may take the liberty to criticize Turyn, I should like to point out that the most serious fault of his work is the neglect of some important codicological aspects; aspects which can only be studied and evaluated by working directly on the MSS and not by studying microfilms.

I have tried to overcome the geographical obstacle by visiting, as often as I could, libraries containing manuscripts relevant for my study, but I have not been able to do this as often as would have been necessary to fill out every lacuna left in the following chapters. These lacunae would have been considerably more extensive if I had not had the good fortune to be able to secure help from friends and fellow researchers at home and abroad. This brings me to the most enjoyable part of my preface: the help I have received without which this book could not have been written.

I wish to thank the following friends and colleagues for their generous help and advice on various points and at various stages of my work:

Klaus Alpers (Hamburg), Charles Astruc (Paris), Franz Blatt (Roskilde), Paul Canart (Vatican City), Roger D. Dawe (Cambridge), Gudrun Engberg (Copenhagen), C. J. Herington (Yale), Dieter Harlfinger (Berlin), Jens P. Jensen (Aarhus), Holger Friis

Johansen (Aarhus), Finn Jorsal (Aarhus), W. J. W. Koster (Groningen), Otto Kresten (Vienna), Eugenia Levi (Florence), Elpidio Mioni (Padua), Lars Nørgaard (Aarhus), A. E. B. Owen (Cambridge), Philip A. Stadter (Chapel Hill), Alexander Turyn (Urbana), Nigel G. Wilson (Oxford).

There are, however, four friends who deserve special mention. With Bjarne Schartau I have profitably discussed almost every problem of a codicological nature arising from my work. He has read substantial portions of my manuscript and has lent me microfilms of Euripides MSS. I have also been able to draw on his expert knowledge of the Byzantine MSS of Euripides. He has also checked a good number of doubtful points for me in the MSS, notably in *Angelicus gr.* 14. For any mistakes or inadequacies in my representation I am, of course, the alone responsible.

My debt to Giuseppe Torresin is of a kind more difficult to describe. He has read my book in manuscript and saved me from a good number of blunders; he might have saved me from more if I had not been obstinate enough to follow the tag *quod scripsi, scripsi*. But it is through numerous discussions with him over the years—not always about Aeschylus—that I have learned more than I might wish to realize; he has been a constant source of inspiration, always ready to discuss any problem arising from my work and to give his mature judgment.

I would not have dared to publish this book in a language not my own, if I had not been so fortunate as to secure invaluable help from Estella and Peter Allan Hansen. For their kindness and hospitality at a critical stage of my work I can only offer my sincerest thanks. Moreover, Peter Allan Hansen has obliged me by giving valuable advice and comments on a great many points in the book.

I also wish to thank the Danish Research Council (Statens humanistiske forskningsråd) for financial assistance in obtaining microfilms and for having come forward with a substantial grant to the publishers. The Rask-Ørsted Foundation subsidized my travels to the libraries at an early stage of my work and the State Library at Aarhus has obliged me very much by procuring microfilms and books not available in this country.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the Institute of Greek and Latin, University of Aarhus, where I have, from the beginning of my work, met with friendly and cooperative interest. Particularly I should like to thank our secretaries Mrs Maj-Britt Fjord Larsen,

Mrs Hanne Paikjær and Mrs Dorte Søndergaard for their efficient help in bringing order into a most difficult manuscript.

My thanks are also due to the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana for the assistance I have received while working in that hospitable institution and for permission to reproduce pages from MSS in their possession. Similar permission has been granted by the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, the Biblioteca Estense, Modena and the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. To these libraries and their directors I am very grateful.

The manuscript of the present book was practically finished in December 1973, and it has been impossible to incorporate relevant literature appearing after this date in my discussion. Particularly I regret not having been able to take account of Dawe's book on the Sophoclean MSS (*Studies on the Text of Sophocles*, Leiden 1974) and Turyn's important paper on Triclinius and the Planudean Anthology, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 39-40, 1972-1973, 403 ff.

OLE LANGWITZ SMITH
Aarhus, July 1974

NOTE ON ABBREVIATION, CRITICAL NOTATION AND MANUSCRIPTS CITED

As a rule I have followed the system of Turyn in the presentation of manuscript evidence, and I refer to his books for a complete description of the system; cf. also Dawe, *Collation* 197. Most of the symbols used by me are self-explanatory; the critical notation employed by Turyn has now also been used in modern apparatuses, cf. the recent Oxford edition of Aeschylus by Denys Page.

Abbreviations of titles of books and papers cited will be found in the bibliography.

In citing lines of Aeschylus I have used, for practical purposes, the Oxford text by Page, since this edition should now be the standard one. Whatever one may think of its text or its accuracy in reporting MS evidence, it is the first modern edition which is based on first-hand knowledge of the greater part of the important MSS of Aeschylus and it covers a much wider range of MSS than its predecessor, Wilamowitz' edition.

Unless I expressly cite old scholia, the abbreviation sch. should be taken to refer to the Triclinian scholia, sometimes cited sch. T. As a rule I cite Triclinian scholia directly from the MSS; in the case of the metrical scholia on the Euripidean triad I cite from my forthcoming edition of these texts.

On my use of manuscript sources I wish to emphasize that most of the manuscripts quoted have only been used in microfilm or photostats. But in the case of the central MSS G, F, E and T, I have also checked the originals. In particular I have collated F in the original in the *Septem*, and checked details both in the original MS and on photographs. If I do not expressly quote a printed source my statements about the MSS are based on inspection in microfilm or photostats.

LIST OF SIGLA

In this list are given the sigla of MSS cited most frequently throughout this book.

E	Salamanca, Bibl. Univ. *cod.* 233
F	Florence, Bibl. Laur. *plut.* 31, 8
G	Venice, Bibl. Marc. *gr.* 616
L	Florence, Bibl. Laur. *plut.* 32, 2
M	Florence, Bibl. Laur. *plut.* 31, 9
T	Naples, Bibl. Naz. II. F. 31

INTRODUCTION

The first modern scholar to occupy himself with Aeschylus was Demetrius Triclinius. If it had not been for his labours, we should now have been without the greatest of the plays of this dramatist, the *Agamemnon*. During his researches at some time in the first quarter of the 14th century [1], Demetrius Triclinius came upon a manuscript containing two plays unknown to Byzantine scholars of the Palaeologean Renaissance, the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides* [2]. It is to his two recensions of Aeschylus that we must turn for the text of three quarters of the *Agamemnon*; the famous Medicean manuscript *Laur.* 32, 9 carries only a few hundred lines of this play [3].

Unfortunately we do not have the old manuscript found by Triclinius; we have only the corrected copy he made of this manuscript, transmitted to us by three independent copies of his first recension of Aeschylus. Scholars have for a very long time been suspicious of Triclinius and his way of working with the texts he edited. His methods were not those of modern scholarship; in particular his treatment of the metres of the poetic texts was based on a very dangerous foundation, viz. the principles laid down by Hephaestion and his successors. If we wish to understand what may have happened to the text of the *Agamemnon* at the hands of Triclinius, we must study his work on the other plays where we know the text which formed his point of departure, and which was subsequently emended on his metrical and critical principles.

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[1] For the probable date of his finding of the two plays the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides* cf. p. 45.

[2] I have not tried to find out how often we meet probable quotations made from first-hand knowledge of the plays in Byzantine literature. The fact that the authors mentioned by Smyth, HSCP 32, 1921, 87 n. 2 all quote the triadic plays only, seems to indicate that even the most educated Byzantines did not know these plays. But of course a thorough analysis of the whole of Byzantine learned literature to find traces of direct knowledge of these plays should be made, in order to write the history of the Byzantine transmission of the plays of Aeschylus.

[3] For *Laur.* 32, 9 and a description of this manuscript I refer to Turyn, *Aeschylus* 17 ff. Though I have used this manuscript extensively in the present study I have not thought it necessary to give a full description of it, since it is well-known and since I have very little to say on it that cannot be found elsewhere.

To reach such an understanding is part of the object of the present study, but it is not the sole object. A large amount of literature on Triclinius has been written, but a systematic study of his metrical and textual work has never seen the light of day. If such a work is to be written it must necessarily concentrate on a single author; no one can be expected to work through the whole mass of Triclinian material much of which lies unpublished in the libraries. Some work has already been done on Euripides and Aristophanes by Günther Zuntz and W. J. W. Koster; and though it be far from me to belittle their labours—any reader will notice how Zuntz' great book has inspired the present study—it seems to me that their work has been directed towards other goals than the systematic study of the critical and metrical principles of the Byzantine scholar. My object is to make us see what Triclinius tried to do and why he did it, irrespective of whether his results were correct or not in our modern eyes. Too often Triclinius has simply been laughed out of court, though a healthy reaction against nineteenth-century contempt has emerged during the last thirty years. On the supposition that Triclinius was unmethodical and unsystematic his work has met with a neglect it hardly merits. On the other hand, rigidity has very often been associated with his name. To some Triclinius is the metrical doctrinaire incarnate who prefers above all else to emend a text he does not understand rather than to admit defeat. His name has always been associated with the principle of exact syllabic responsion. It is true that he was extremely confident and to some extent a doctrinaire. But it is plainly untrue that his object was exact syllabic responsion; if it were, he failed egregiously in a large number of cases within the dramatic poets. He was prepared—as are modern scholars—to admit *Responsionsfreiheiten* but between him and us lie centuries of metrical studies and an increasing awareness of the difficulty of the subject. It must also be emphasized that Triclinius' attempt at establishing responsion only characterizes a small part of his transmitted work, as I hope to show in the present study. His dogmatic attitude stems from the historical situation in which he worked. He knew that he was the only scholar with a knowledge of metrics beyond the simple counting of syllables in the iambic trimeter. In his own way he fought against the unscientific treatment of the dramatists by his predecessors and colleagues; he detested their lack of metrical knowledge and tried to mend the faults of centuries of Byzantine

scholarship with wrong but extremely efficient weapons, viz. the handbook of Hephaestion, and his own superior grasp of tragic diction. It has often been pointed out that his system was too rigid to allow a correct view of the errors in the texts, for example he did not recognize the dochmiac but still he made some excellent emendations in this metre. One of his greatest faults was his confidence in his own work. Time and again we see him go wrong because he based his work upon his own earlier attempts.

However, I shall not emphasize this aspect very much. I shall occasionally point out how and why he went wrong, and call attention to a good correction of his, but I find it more interesting to study his work in a systematic way, irrespective of whether it led him to true or wrong results.

Not without justice have many before me called Triclinius the first modern philologist to work on the classical texts [4]. First of all his claim to that title can be supported by his use of manuscript sources. These sources may not have been so old and so excellent as he asserts, but there can be no doubt that he was the first scholar to use manuscripts not for their quantity or beauty but for their quality.[5] He often preferred a reading of a single manuscript to all others available; and there is sufficient evidence to prove that he was able to see what made one manuscript better than another. His claim may be supported further by his search for better manuscripts than those used by his predecessors and colleagues. It is no mere chance that Triclinius found a manuscript containing two plays by Aeschylus unknown to Byzantine scholars of his day, and the alphabetic plays of Euripides in his manuscript are eloquent and moving witnesses to his dedicated and scholarly work. He also concerned himself with the non-tetradic plays of Sophocles, and made an edition of Aristophanes containing the plays not usually read by the Byzantines. He composed metrical scholia on Pindar, apparently, at least in the *Pythian Odes*, without knowledge of the old scholia. This makes him a figure quite out of proportion to his

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[4] See e.g. Wilamowitz, *Euripides' Herakles* I, 195 f.

[5] Robert Browning, *Recentiores non deteriores* BICS 7, 1960, 11 ff. probably exaggerates the actual *use* made of manuscripts by the other Byzantine philologists. But at least it must be emphasized that Triclinius stands out by his effective and methodical use of ancient evidence. A good many manuscripts from Byzantine times bear witness to interpolation and contamination from old manuscripts; for systematic work on old manuscripts we have only Triclinius.

time;[6] he was not satisfied with working where Planudes, Moschopulus and Thomas had been before him, but set out to break new ground.

We know next to nothing of Triclinius' life. There is substantial evidence to connect him with Thessalonica [7] and he must have been a younger contemporary, if not a student, of Thomas Magister. Two of his autograph manuscripts are dated respectively 1308 and 1317/19. These are the meagre facts. Only once in transmitted literature is he mentioned, namely in the metrical scholia on the first *Olympian* where a pupil of his mentions him as the μυσταγωγός. For a treatment of this evidence and related questions I refer to the Excursus A to Chapter I. What we can say is that his scholarly work probably should be placed in the period 1300-1325, and that he seems to have worked in a scriptorium which was a centre of scholarly activity of high quality. We know some of his associates, e.g. Joannes Catrares and a relative of Demetrius', Nicolaus Triclines.[8] As far as we know, no one carried on his work after his death or continued in his tradition except the scribes in the scriptorium formerly led by him. His scholarly life and activity was the last flowering of the Byzantine Renaissance; in Greek-speaking lands he found no successors. His true inheritors are the Italian humanists.[9]

In the following chapters I shall, after a study of the Triclinian manuscripts of Aeschylus, analyse Triclinius' work on that author, especially in his first recension and try to formulate the principles on which he based his work in that recension.

[6] On the Palaeologean philologists see the excellent paper by Hunger, Jahrb. d. Oesterr. Byz. Ges. 8, 1959, 123 ff., especially 139 ff.

[7] See A. Wasserstein, *Demetrius Triclinius on Lunar Theory*, Jahrb. d. Oesterr. Byz. Ges. 16, 1967, 172. In this treatise published by Wasserstein Triclinius mentions Thessalonica as his home: l. 65 ἡ πατρὶς ἡμῶν . . . Θεσσαλονίκη.

The name Triclines is known from a very few other sources. A μέγας χαρτοφύλαξ Georgius Triclines is known from c. 1370-1374; see references in Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, 124, and a certain Triclines is mentioned in the correspondence of Nicolaus Cabasilas (ed. P. Enepekides, BZ 46, 1953, 30) Letter 2, line 7. This letter has been dated c. 1351 by J. Loenertz, Orientalia Christiana Periodica 21, 1955, 224 f. Further, Barlaam wrote a letter of c. 1336 (cf. G. Schirò, *Barlaam Calabro, Epistole greche*, Palermo 1954, 47) to one Nilus Triclines who seems to have 'belonged to the entourage of Gregorius Palamas' (Turyn, *Euripides* 230 n. 212). The connections with Barlaam and Cabasilas all point to Thessalonica.

[8] For Nicolaus Triclines cf. p. 69 n. 42 and for Catrares cf. p. 6, n. 7.

[9] On the character of Triclinian (and other Byzantine) scholarship in comparison with that of the Italian humanists cf. most recently A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato* 503 and 517. The differences in attitude should not be underestimated.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MANUSCRIPTS

We shall begin our investigation by giving an exhaustive description of the manuscripts supposed to contain Triclinian scholia and text. The proofs of Triclinian authorship will be presented in the next chapter. There are four manuscripts: the proto-Triclinian group of G, *Ven. Marc.* 616; F, *Laur.* 31, 8 and E, *Salm. cod.* M 233 and the final Triclinian edition T, *Neap.* II.F.31.

The oldest manuscript to carry the so-called proto-Triclinian scholia and text is the MS G: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana *gr.* 616, numero di collocazione 663.[1] This is a parchment manuscript of 123 numbered folios (+ f. 20 *bis* and f. 42 *bis*) measuring 320 × 215 mm. The MS consists of 8 quaternions (ff. 1-62), a gathering of 7 folios (ff. 63-69), 6 quaternions (ff. 70-117), and one ternion (ff. 118-123). The binding of the book is the one usual to the Marciana. Some missing parchment folios (ff. 38, 40, 41, 45, 46, 49, 52, 55, 58, 59, 62, 68) have been replaced by paper, probably in the 16th century to judge from the watermarks (Briquet 485, Padua 1547). After f. 109 a whole quire of eight leaves containing *Ag.* 46-1094 was lost, probably at the time when the other losses of single leaves occurred.

The MS has been written with two columns to a page, 30 lines to a column, and narrow margins. The surface covered by the text measures 210-220 × 140 mm. The contents of the volume are: Sophocles (ff. 1-82v): *Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Rex, Antigone, Oedipus Col., Trachiniae and Philoctetes.* (There are some scholia on the *Ajax*); Aeschylus (ff. 82v-122v): *Vita* (ff. 82v-83r), *arg. Prom.* (f. 83r), *Prom.* (ff. 83v-92r), *arg. Sept.* (f. 92r), *Sept.* (ff. 92v-100v), *arg. Pers.* (f. 100v), *Pers.* (ff. 101r-109r), *arg. Agam.* (f. 109r), *Agam.* 1-45 (f. 109v), 1095-1673 (ff. 110r-114v), *arg. Eum.* (f. 114v), *Eum.* (ff. 114v-122v) with lines 324-25, 582-644 and 778-807

[1] Descriptions of G may also be found in the old catalogue by Zanetti-Bongiovanni 315 f., Smyth, *Catalogue* 30, Turyn, *Aeschylus* 69.

I owe some of the details of the following analysis of G to the courtesy of Professor Elpidio Mioni, who has obliged me by forwarding his notes on the manuscript. For the Sophocles part of G see Turyn, Traditio 2, 1944, 39; TAPhA 80, 1949, 171; *Sophocles* 67.

omitted. There are metrical scholia on *Pers.*, *Ag.* and *Eum.* It should be noticed that there is no break between the Sophocles and the Aeschylus sections; the *Philoctetes* ends in the right column on f. 82v and immediately after we have the beginning of the *Vita Aeschyli.*

In recent scholarship the date of this MS has been given as the 15th century. This estimate goes back to Rudolf Merkel [2] and was accepted without question [3] by Mazon, Wecklein, Wilamowitz, Murray, Turyn (1943), Fraenkel, and Denniston-Page. In the old catalogue the 13th century was proposed and accepted by Franz, Hermann and Kirchhoff; Dindorf, however, seems to have been nearer the truth when he proposed the 14th century "nach den Schriftzügen".[4]

The matter was finally settled by Turyn, who in a paper of 1960 [5] pointed out that G should be dated to 1321-22. His arguments for this followed in his large-scale study of dated Vatican manuscripts from the 13th and 14th centuries.[6] Here he showed that the scribe of G was identical with that of *Vat. gr.* 175 ff. 9-38r; further, that the hand in the argument to and scholia on the *Persae*, the sch. *Ag.* 1 and 140 (cf. plate 11) was that of another scribe than the one who wrote the main part of the MS. This second hand Turyn identified with that of Joannes Catrares [7] who wrote the rest of

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[2] *Aeschylus in italienischen Handschriften* 17 ff.

[3] Cf. Zuntz, *Inquiry* 206 'It puzzles me how scholars could be persuaded, by R. Merkel, to disbelieve their eyes and ascribe it to the fifteenth century...' This raises the question of how many of those who accepted Merkel's date, ever saw G. If they did, as is the case with e.g. Wilamowitz, Fraenkel, Mazon and Turyn himself, the erroneous dating only confirms the general truth that most modern editors are unacquainted with palaeography.

[4] Philologus 18, 1862, 87.

[5] *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni*, Firenze 1960, 1013 n. 1. I wish to thank Professor Turyn for sending me an offprint of this paper.

[6] *Codices Vaticani* 124 ff.

[7] On Catrares see Turyn's account *loc. cit.* (above n. 6) with literature quoted. See also his *Dated Greek MSS* I, 117 f. and 141.

I only wish to add that Catrares also wrote some scholia at the beginning of the Sophocles section of G as far as f. 9r, plus the only scholium in G on the *Prom.* (f. 86r) *l.* 351: ὅτι ὁ Κῖλιξ προπερισπᾶται ὡς φοῖνιξ καὶ κῆρυξ which note does not seem to be extant in other MSS according to a communication from Professor John Herington. It should perhaps be seen in connection with a scholium on Soph. 561 in *Laur.* 32, 2 (f. 38r): φοῖνιξ ὁ πρέσβυς] φοίνιξ καὶ κήρυξ ὀξύνονται· φοίνικες γὰρ καὶ κήρυκες. αἱ παραλήγουσαι φύσει μακραί εἰσι καὶ μάρτυρες οἱ ποιηταί, οἷς ἐμέλησε μηδὲν εἰκῇ δέχεσθαι τῶν διχρόνων ἀλλὰ διωρισμένως ἃ μὲν ἀεὶ βραχέα ἐν τῶν μέτρωι παραλαμβάνειν, ἃ δὲ μακρά, κανόσι δήπουθεν καὶ λόγοις τεχνικοῖς. This note seems to be Triclinian, since it is not

Vat. gr. 175 and subscribed this latter MS on f. 158v (reproduced on plate 190d in Turyn's book). The fact that the two scribes in G worked together in *Vat. gr.* 175 proves them to have been associates; the matter is clinched by Turyn's find of another MS written partly by Catrares, partly by the main scribe of G, the *Ven. Marc. gr.* 441 (no. di colloc. 878), where ff. 112v l. 10-122r and 147r-209v are by the main scribe of G, ff. 122v-146v being by Catrares. A third scribe wrote the beginning of the MS ff. 3r-112v l. 9. Moreover, Turyn also proved that Catrares is identical with the scribe known from Zuntz's book on Euripides as the "rubricator P", namely the hand that wrote the metrical notes in the Euripides MS P (*Vat. Pal. gr.* 287 + *Laur. conv. soppr.* 172) copying the first stage of the Triclinian metrical notes in the MS L, *Laur.* 32, 2 (For my view of L and P see below p. 74 n. 49). These facts prove that G was written in the scriptorium of Triclinius and that Catrares was a close associate of Triclinius at that time, that is, around 1321-22 when *Vat. gr.* 175 was written.[8]

If the same date applies to G we can infer that the scribes then working for Triclinius in his scriptorium only had his first recension, the MS τ, at their disposal. His final edition T must therefore be later than c. 1322.

What type of MS is G? The material is parchment and therefore it cannot be meant for the use of a scholar who would usually want a copy on paper, with wide margins for further annotation.[9] Fraenkel[10] suggested that originally G was not meant to include annotation; this may very well be true, since G seems to have been

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an old scholium. I emphasize that there are no Byzantine scholia on the non-tetradic plays of Sophocles except the Triclinian scholia in T and Ta (*Par. gr.* 2711 and *Ven. Marc.* 470).

Catrares also wrote sch. *Pers.* 159 (f. 102r), which together with that on *Pers.* 1 (f. 100v) are the only scholia on that play in G. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, XXI mentions that the MS Rome, Bibl. Vallicell. B70 (on which see *Aeschylus* 35) was partly written by Catrares, viz. ff. 91r-109r. This part of the MS contains *Prom.* 187 to the end with a few scholia.

[8] Subscribed A.M. 6830 = A.D. 1321/22 on f. 158v, cf. Turyn, *Codices Vaticani* 124 with plate 190d.

On the subject of the date of G I should point out that the old mistake still continues even after Turyn's masterly demonstration. André Wartelle in his recent book *Histoire du texte d'Eschyle dans l'antiquité* 311 n. 2 persists in dating G to the 15th century.

[9] For the distinction between copies on parchment and copies on paper see in general Dain, *Les manuscrits* 156.

[10] *Agamemnon* I, 31.

designed for the book-trade, exactly like its brother P of Euripides from the same scriptorium and from the same time.[11] It is impossible to say for certain why nearly complete metrical scholia were added by the main scribe in the *Oresteia* part. Catrares, who would seem to have been originally responsible for this part of the production of the book, since it was he who wrote the few scholia as far as *Ag.* 40 (he may of course have written some in the part now lost between ff. 109 and 110), only copied a very few notes as mentioned above in the two triadic plays, and we may guess that these notes were all that the book was meant to provide. His associate, however, who took over somewhere in the lost part of the *Agamemnon* added the complete commentary which can now be seen crowding the scant margins of G.

There is another curious fact to be mentioned in connection with the genesis of G. The *Vita* and arguments to *Prom.*, *Sept. Agam.* and *Eum.* have all been written by the main scribe, but on f. 100v the argument to the *Persae* is by Catrares. The main scribe finished the text of the *Septem* at the bottom of the left column on this page; leaving the right column blank, he then carried on with the text of the *Persae* on f. 101r at the top of the left column of this page. Later Catrares added *arg. Pers.* and the sch. *Pers.* 1 in the right column of f. 100v. It is evident that Catrares wrote his part later than the main scribe, for he had to write the end of sch. *Pers.* 1 across the whole width of the page since there was not room enough in the right column. A possible solution to the problem of why the *arg. Pers.* was not written out immediately by the main scribe, could be that at this point the source was changed from the Thoman exemplar,[12] which had been used in the two preceding plays, the

[11] On the character of the MS P of Euripides cf. Zuntz, *Inquiry* 135 ff., especially 138 f.

[12] I wish to point out that my nomenclature Thoman exemplar, Thoman recension etc. is somewhat misleading, since I do not believe in a recension of the text of Aeschylus by Thomas Magister. I agree with Dawe, *Collation* 21 that 'there may well have been no edition of Aeschylus by Thomas. . . . but only a commentary'. As Dawe says, the only evidence for Thomas' work on Aeschylus is the commentary attributed to him by Triclinius in T.

I only use the label Thoman to denote that pre-Triclinian text of Aeschylus which may be considered the vulgate; this was the type of text on which Triclinius set to work, and as I hope to prove, he also considered it to be the vulgate. Of course I still think it possible to speak of Thoman scholia, because we know from Triclinius that such scholia existed.

I do not wish to exclude the possibility that the question of the Thoman recensions of Euripides and Sophocles may not be wholly parallel to the

Prometheus and the *Septem*.[13] As can be seen from F, the first recension of Triclinius did not include arguments to the *Septem* and the *Persae*; in F we have arguments to the *Prometheus* and the two plays of the *Oresteia*, but, as we shall see, F in the *Prometheus* is Thoman.[14] The *Septem* and the *Persae* in F have no arguments though room has been left for them. Catrares therefore would seem to have added *arg. Pers.* at a later time, possibly when he went over the MS to add headings and initials.[15] He must have taken this argument from a different source, and an old one at that, for the argument is the old version.[16]

If this is true we may visualize the production of G in the following way. First the main scribe wrote out the poetic text, copying a Thoman exemplar in the two first triadic plays, and then changing his source to τ for the *Persae* and the two non-triadic plays. Along with the poetic text he copied the *Vita* and the arguments from his Thoman source and τ. Then Catrares took over, adding headings and initials together with a few random scholia from τ. The main scribe wrote out most of the detailed metrical annotation from τ from the point where Catrares left off, possibly very shortly after sch. *Ag.* 40. In this connection I may also point out that Catrares considerably shortened sch. *Ag.* 40 and omitted a few words in sch. *Ag.* 1.[17] A welcome further confirmation of the Triclinian character of G should finally be mentioned. The Sophocles text in G is, according to Turyn [18] 'most probably an apograph of Venice 617' (Turyn's symbol Zp). Now since Turyn in his Sophocles book still thought G to be of the 15th century, it was possible for him to consider G an apograph of Zp. However, Turyn also dated Zp to

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situation in Aeschylus. I shall have occasion later on to discuss some problems arising from theories of the double Thoman recensions of Euripides and Sophocles.

[13] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 69.

[14] Cf. p. 15 f.

[15] However he forgot to add initials in a few places, cf. for instance the beginning of the argument to the *Agamemnon* where he did not write the initial A in 'Αγαμέμνων.

[16] This fact, of course, is not valid as an absolute criterion, since many Thoman MSS, to judge from Turyn, carry the old argument, e.g. Ld, Sc, Sd, Sg, and So. On the unstable nature of arguments as valid criteria see Bjarne Schartau's discussion of the Thoman arguments in Euripides, *Observations* II, 72 ff.

[17] See my edition (forthcoming), *appar. crit. ad loc.*

[18] Turyn, *Sophocles* 67, cf. also Traditio 2, 1944, 39; TAPhA 80, 1949, 171 f.

the 15th century because of the note of ownership on f. 32 and f. 242: *Laurentii Lippi* καὶ τῶν φίλων.[19] In fact the relation between G (Zr in Sophocles) and Zp is perhaps not so easy to determine. Turyn took Zp to be a *gemellus* of Zo (the MS P in Euripides) which MS is a Triclinian product, written partly by our Joannes Catrares. Is it not more rational to regard G as a *gemellus* of Zo both in Sophocles and in the two first plays of Aeschylus? We have seen that there is no break between the end of the Sophocles section and the beginning of the Aeschylus, which fact seems to indicate a common source. The Aeschylus part of Zo (in Turyn's *Aeschylus* symbol Ga) is a *gemellus* of G in the *Prometheus* and the *Septem*; [20] I suggest therefore that the Sophocles part of G is derived from the same common source. Then of course Zp, *Ven. Marc.* 617 may be another *gemellus*, taken directly from the common source of Zo and Zr. I emphasize that these suggestions ought to be investigated further.[21] Nothing is at present known about the history of G between 1322(?) and 1734; at that point it entered the Biblioteca Marciana together with other MSS formerly belonging to Giovanni Battista Recanati, who bequeathed his manuscripts to the library.[22] It is not known from where Recanati obtained the MS.

The second manuscript is F = Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Medicea *plut.* 31, 8 which is a paper codex measuring 138 × 127 mm. with 22 lines to a page for the text of Aeschylus. It consists of 244 folios and is a composite volume comprising four different parts: [23]

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[19] Lorenzo Lippi (1440-Oct. 1485 according to Cosenza, *s.v.*) was a professor at the University of Pisa. He also owned the Euripides MS *Par. gr.* 2807.

Turyn does not say so, but he may also have been led to a 15th century date by the fact that Antonius Damilas wrote ff. 1-32 and subscribed on f. 32 Ἀντώνιος Δαμιλᾶς καὶ τοῦτο ἐξέγραψεν *1468 a* 7 *marzo*. But Zp is a composite volume of two different parts: I. ff. 1-35 II. ff. 36-242. The second part may be dated from the watermarks Mošin-Traljić 3523 = 1317, Mošin-Traljić 3821 = 1322-23, var. Mošin-Traljić 5299 = 1295, Mošin-Traljić 4147 = 1316. I owe these details to the courtesy of Professor Elpidio Mioni.

[20] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 69 f. I think that Turyn was nearer the truth here, cf. p. 70 'The Sophocles text of the Palat. 287 agrees with the Sophocles text of the Venice 616 — the relation being perhaps the same as in Aeschylus'.

[21] Cf. below on the MSS containing the supposedly second Thoman recension of Sophocles p. 134 n. 20.

[22] On Recanati see Frati, *Dizionario* 484 f., Cosenza *s.v.*

[23] Earlier descriptions in Bandini, *Catalogus* II, 83 ff., Smyth, Catalogue 16, Turyn, *Aeschylus* 70 f., Traditio 2, 1944, 15.

I. ff. 1-2 *Vita S. Martyris Georgii Cappadocis.*
II. Aeschylus ff. 3r-128r; this part consists of ff. 3r-v *Vita* and *arg. Prom.*, ff. 4r-27v *Prom.*, ff. 28r-48v *Sept.*, ff. 49r-70v *Pers.*, ff. 70v-71r *arg. Agam.*, ff. 71r-106v *Ag.*, ff. 107r-127v *arg. Eum.* and *Eum.* (with lines 324-25, 582-644 and 778-807 omitted as in G). There are Thoman scholia on *Prom.* and *Sept.* and metrical scholia on *Sept.*, *Persae*, *Agam.* and *Eum.* A few Thoman scholia have been written at the beginning of the *Persae*; f. 128v and the following two unnumbered leaves are blank.
III. ff. 129r-180r Sophocles, *Ajax* (f. 129r), *Electra* (ff. 160v-180r); f. 180v and the two following unnumbered leaves are blank, and preceding f. 129 there are also two unnumbered blank leaves.
IV. ff. 181r-207r Dionysius Periegetes; f. 207v and the two following unnumbered leaves are blank.
V. ff. 208r-244 Lycophron, *Alexandra.*

In earlier descriptions the scribe of this manuscript has been given as a certain Constantinus, who subscribed on f. 208r γένου βοηθός Χ(ριστ)ὲ τῶ Κωνσταντίνω. However, it is a mistake to conclude that he wrote the whole volume. The hands in each part are different, and Constantinus only wrote the Lycophron part ff. 208 ff. This fact is correctly stated in Ullman-Stadter.[24] I have not been able to identify the other hands.[25]

The Aeschylus section of the book which is the only part with which we are concerned, cannot be dated with much precision. The watermarks have been reported previously by Martin Wittek from a

[24] *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* 263.

[25] Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, 224 compares the writing in the Aeschylus part of F with that of the scribe B in *Ven. Marc.* 183 reproduced on plate 182 in *Dated Greek MSS.* The MS *Ven. Marc.* 183 is dated 1359 and thus would confirm the date suggested for F. The similarity of the scripts, however, should not be overestimated; but it is certainly interesting to note that a similar style can be found in the MS *Laur. Conv. soppr.* 8 which contains a copy of the Triclinian Hesiod from *Ven. Marc.* 464 and the metrical texts in the likewise Triclinian *Marc.* 483. On *Laur. conv. soppr.* 8 cf. below p. 50 ff.

Also comparable to the style of the script in F is the Paris Theocritus *Anc. fonds gr.* 2832 (for examples of this MS see J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, Paris-Bruxelles 1926, pl. LXIII and LXIV and the Copenhagen MS of the same author, *GKS* 1982, 4°.

communication by Teresa Lodi.[26] I have asked Dr. Eugenia Levi to give me a new report of the Aeschylus part and I quote her findings:

> 'I. cc. 3-50; non è la lettera R indicata in Scriptorium ma una filigrana complessa, che non ho trovato né in Briquet né in Mošin-Traljić. È composta, come M.-T. 5495-5497, di due lettere R e di una contromarca di cui non so tracciare il disegno preciso; sono invece due contromarche di disegno simile?
> II. cc. 51-58, martello tipo M.T. 6189
> III. cc. 59-128, croce, simile a M.T. 3518 (nel ms. sono visibili peraltro filoni e vergelle non indicati in M.T. e le misure di uno dei bracchi della croce non sono identiche)'.

On this evidence it is not possible to go very much further than has been done on the basis of Lodi's report.[27] We have to do with a composite volume. The Aeschylus section ff. 1-128, apart from having its own particular watermarks, can also be shown to have led a separate existence. Sophocles and Dionysius Periegetes seem to have formed a separate whole, distinguished by a common watermark, which has not yet been identified. Finally the Lycophron part with the watermark Briq. 5523 stands apart from the rest of the MS.

Analysis of the manuscript is made difficult by the fact that the lower and upper margins have been cut away so that often quire signatures have disappeared. However, in the Aeschylus part signatures can be seen on f. 3r α', f. 11r β', f. 19r γ', f. 27r δ'. The rest has been cut away. In the Sophocles part we begin as pointed out above with two unnumbered blank leaves which together with ff. 129-34 make up the first quire. Accordingly we have on f. 135 the first visible quire signature β' which subsequently was erased and ιη' written instead. This later signature corresponds with the contemporary state of the book; the Aeschylus part comprises 16 gatherings, and this signature ιη' must have been written when the book was bound at Florence. At this time the first blank leaf in the Sophocles part received the signature ιζ'. The original separate signatures in the Aeschylus and Sophocles sections emphasize the fact that these parts had not been together before they came to be bound in the *Laur.* 31, 8.

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[26] Scriptorium 7, 1953, 278 n. 9.

[27] Wittek, *loc. cit.* said 'la première moitié du XIV^{e} s.'; Zuntz, *Inquiry* p. 206: 'hardly later, and probably earlier, than A.D. 1350.'

It has been known for some time that the book carries an indication of its *terminus ante*. On f. 244v at the end of the Lycophron part a former owner, as it seems, has recorded the death of his wife: τῶι ,ςωπβ′ τῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος δυοδεκάτης μηνὶ 'Ιαννουαρίωι εἰς τὰς ὀκτώ, ἡμέραι κυριακῆι ἐκοιμήθη ἡ ἀοίδιμος ⟦...........⟧ μου ἐξέψυξεν ὥραι τρίτηι νυκτὸς ἐτάφη δὲ ἡμέραι δευτέραι. οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες μέμνησθε ἄννης συζύγου ⟦......⟧.

Apparently the Lycophron part must be dated earlier than 1374; nothing more can be gained from this since we have no evidence that this section was already part of our MS.[28]

There is, as has been seen recently, more substantial evidence to date at least the Aeschylus part. This part and only this, belonged in the 14th century to Simon Atumanus, archbishop of Thebes and former bishop of Gerace in Calabria.[29] It is not known when he acquired the MS, but the very fact that he owned it gives at least a *terminus ante* of c. 1387, the latest possible date for his death in Rome. The ownership of Atumanus was discovered by Turyn who saw that the hand making notes on some folios in *Laur.* 31, 8 was the same as that occurring in *Laur.* 32, 2 where the identity of the hand is revealed by the fact that Atumanus mentions his appointment and consecration as bishop of Gerace.[30] Now *Laur.* 32, 2, the famous L in Euripides, was written in the scriptorium of Triclinius, and as I shall later argue, it is very possible that the same applies to F. Zuntz [31] may therefore be right in supposing that these two MSS came into Atumanus' possession in the same way and at the same time. He suggests that Atumanus either inherited the MSS from his master Barlaam, who is known to have had very good connections with Thessalonica, or possibly acquired them while accompanying Barlaam to that place. Atumanus owned *Laur.* 32, 2 in 1348 as can be seen from the notes on f. 1 referring to his consecration, and if Zuntz is right we obtain 1348 as the *terminus ante* for F in the Aeschylus section.

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[28] Scholars have usually held this date of 1374 as a certain *terminus ante* for the whole MS, cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 70, *Euripides* 227 n. 208.

[29] On Simon Atumanus see Turyn, *Euripides* 226 n. 207 for the relevant literature. To this should now be added Zuntz, *Inquiry* 283 ff.; A. Pertusi, Italia Medioevale e Umanistica 3, 1960, 104 ff., Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, 209 ff. (with extensive bibliography).

[30] For these notes cf. Bandini, *Catalogus* II, 123; see further Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea* 5 f. and Mercati, *Se la Versione* 48. The identification was made by N. Anziani, the then director of the Laurenziana.

[31] *Inquiry* 287 n.†

What happened to both MSS between 1348 and c. 1500 (the earliest recorded date of their being part of the San Marco library at Florence) we do not know. In view of the age of the books they may have come to San Marco through Niccoli.

That Atumanus only owned the Aeschylus section and not the MS *Laur.* 31, 8 in the present state can be seen from the distribution of his notes. They are only found in the Aeschylus part, as far as f. 51r. These pages bear witness to his assiduous study of the book; while the folios 52 ff. are almost without any trace of wear and tear, the first fifty pages are very worn. Here Atumanus wrote a great many notes. He also seems to have carried out a sort of revision of the scholia; it is difficult to be quite sure of this, but some of the scholia have been crossed out by a hand using ink of the same colour as that used in Atumanus' notes. Thus I assume that it was he who deleted sch. *Sept.* 332, 508, 540, 615, 617 and 619 together with two supralinear glosses on *Sept.* 624. Again at *Sept.* 335 Atumanus would seem to be responsible for the deletion of the scholia and supralinear glosses and for the addition of the gloss πολεμίων on ὠμοδρόπων (f. 34r); however, a second hand also seems to have been at work. This second hand is clearly of the 16th century and has added some readings in the margin on the *Eumenides* in the Aeschylus part, and also in the parts containing Sophocles and Dionysius.[32] The readings added in Aeschylus have been prefixed with γρ, but they must—as was pointed out by Fraenkel [33] —be sharply distinguished from the original γρ-variants by the scribe of F. Fraenkel seems to have been the first scholar to distinguish between this 16th century hand and the original scribe. The readings in question have been reported by Blass and Wilamowitz as Fγρ, which is most misleading. As Fraenkel stated, this hand must be that of a Renaissance scholar with access to M—from which MS they have been derived. Thus it is very possible that the hand belongs to someone from the circle of Victorius who was the only Renaissance editor to use both M and F directly. The notes in question are:

Eum. 222 (f. 112r) οὔτοι F γρ. οἶδα *man. rec.*
Eum. 245 (f. 112v) μηνυτῇ F γρ. μηνυτῆρος *man. rec.*

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[32] In the Sophocles part see e.g. ff. 129 ff., 143v. 144r, 145r, 146r, 147v etc.; in the Dionysius part see f. 200r.

[33] *Agamemnon* I, 29 n. 5.

Eum. 299 (f. 113v) οὔτις σ' F γρ. οὔτοι σε *man. rec.*
— (f. 113v) ἀθηναίοις F ας *sscr. man. rec.*
Eum. 476 (f. 117v) οὔκουν εὔπεπλον F οὐκ εὐπέμπελον *man. rec.*

As Fraenkel says these 'variants' should not be mentioned in future apparatuses.[34]

Let us return to the analysis of the MS. Turyn stated in 1943 [35] that in the Aeschylus part, the *Prometheus* and *Septem* were Thoman, and the *Persae, Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* were Triclinian. To a certain extent he was right. But he took too little into account the corrections made by F^{pc} in the *Septem.*

In an important article R. D. Dawe [36] has argued for the view that F represented the working copy of Triclinius. I quote Dawe's opinion of F: [37] 'F was using a Thoman manuscript in which Triclinius had made a number of notes and suggestions, and an early draft of the metrical scholia, and with a few folios actually replaced by some in Triclinius' own writing'. Dawe was led to this theory from the analysis of the Triclinian elements in F. He found quite correctly that there are no Triclinian readings in the *Prometheus* in F, but from the *Septem* onwards the Triclinian elements appear. In this play Dawe thought that he had found Triclinian elements in F *ante correctionem*; [38] though he did not stress this point very much, it nevertheless must be the foundation on which he built his theory. I shall return to this question of the F^{ac} readings in due course. He also saw that the colometry in F is important for our estimate of the character of the MS. He noticed the fact that the colometry of the *Septem* had been revised thoroughly by means of vertically placed rows of dots, the effect of which rows is indication of a colometry substantially identical with that known as Triclinian from T. In the remaining plays (*Persae, Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*) the colometry is Triclinian from the outset and bears no traces of remodelling.

Dawe's theory that F (and G in the *Persae, Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* and E in the *Eumenides*) used a Thoman manuscript

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[34] They are, however, still printed in Thomson's and Page's apparatuses as Fγρ.
[35] *Aeschylus* 70.
[36] *The MSS* 35 ff.
[37] *Op. cit.* 42.
[38] *Op. cit.* 40.

worked through by Triclinius and with some folios replaced by some in Triclinius' own writing, has a strong parallel in the MS T of Euripides, *Angelicus gr.* 14; [39] his main arguments, besides this parallel, are the uneven distribution of Triclinian elements and the rare but seeming agreements $F^{ac}T$.

I shall later make a detailed survey of the contents of F and its Triclinian elements, proceeding thereby to explain the distribution of the Triclinian elements in a way which differs from Dawe. For the present I should like to draw attention to some features in F which cast grave doubts on Dawe's theory and suggest quite another explanation of the genesis of the MS.

I shall demonstrate that the scribe of F started by using a Thoman manuscript from which he copied the *Prometheus* and the *Septem* with Thoman scholia. He then came across the MS τ from which he corrected the text of the *Septem*, added indications of cola and wrote out the metrical scholia. This stage I label F^{pc}. In the remaining plays the scribe copied directly from τ as is shown by Turyn.

I mentioned the revision of the colometry of the lyrical sections in the *Septem*. If we accept the explanation of Dawe the question is why do these dots appear at all? Why were the cola not written out from the beginning as they were in the following plays? The puzzle becomes even greater when we realize that the dots were entered by F^{pc}. Very often these dots have been so awkwardly put that it is quite impossible to entertain the notion that they were written by F^{ac} in reproducing his exemplar. The dots were clearly added by F^{pc} following another exemplar and written in order to indicate a colometry other than that of the F^{ac} exemplar. There is another feature in F which compels us to challenge Dawe's theory. The colometry has not only been revised by means of dots; in some cases F^{pc} has transposed syllables from one line to another in order to conform with what appears from T to be Triclinian colometry.

[39] Turyn, *Euripides* 23 ff. The discussion of *Angel. gr.* 14 in Tuilier, *Recherches critiques* 204 ff. is a serious regress compared to that in Turyn. The scribe of the original volume is definitely *not* Nicolaus Triclines and though the introductory matter on ff. 1-3 has been written on oriental paper of the same type as the original volume, these folios are in the later style of Demetrius Triclinius showing angular breathings, that is, they should be assigned to a period after 1319. The folios with rounded breathings are to be dated before 1319; this important criterion is not mentioned by Tuilier in his discussion of the date of the various stages of the genesis of *Angel. gr.* 14. On this criterion see now Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, 124 f.

These corrections were then entered by F^{pc} to make his original product conform with his new authority.

On f. 41v the lines 686 f. were written thus by F^{ac} (cf. plate 1)

τί μέμονας τέκνον μήτις σε θυμοπληθὺς
δορύμαργος ἄτα φερέτω κακοῦ δ' ἔκβαλ' ἔρωτος ἀρχὰν

F^{pc} put a vertical row of dots after θυμοπλη and crossed out the last syllable, then he added it to the beginning of the next line so that it now protrudes from the column of text. Why did he do so? The rearrangement has colometrical significance; it restores the brachycatalectic antispastic trimeter prescribed by the scholium *ad loc.*[40] More important, it restores the colometry adopted by Triclinius in T. F^{pc} further put a row of dots after κακοῦ to indicate colon-end. But if F, as supposed by Dawe, did use τ from the beginning why did he not write the text as it was arranged there? Why are the Triclinian elements found as innovations by F^{pc}?

Then at line 692 f. (f. 42r) F^{ac} had

ὠμοδακής σ' ἄγαν ἵμερος ἐξοτρύνει
πικρόκαρπον ἀνδροκτασίαν τελεῖν

F^{pc} deleted the syllable νει in ἐξοτρύνει and transposed it to the following line, where νει now protrudes from the column in the same way as θὺς at 687. He also wrote θυμός instead of F^{ac}'s ἵμερος; and this is a Triclinian innovation.[41] The colometrical arrangement is also Triclinian, for the F^{pc} arrangement recurs in T. Finally I shall mention the case at ll. 698 f. (f. 42r). F^{ac} wrote

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ 'ποτρύνου κακὸς οὐ κεκλήσῃ
βίον εὖ κυρήσας . . .

Just as in the above cases F^{pc} deleted -σῃ in κεκλήσῃ and added this syllable to the beginning of the following line; then he put two dots after κεκλή to indicate colon-end as he did in l. 692 after ἐξοτρύ. This correction, too, reproduces what is known from T as the Triclinian arrangement;[42] and since F^{pc} cannot have used T we can conclude that the exemplar followed by F^{pc} must have been the Triclinian exemplar τ which was used for the remaining plays the *Persae, Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*. But the important point is

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40 Cf. below p. 137.
41 Cf. below p. 138.
42 Cf. below p. 139.

that the Triclinian corrections of text and colometry are by F^{pc}; thus F cannot have used τ in the way postulated by Dawe. For if τ had been used by F *ab initio*, these Triclinian elements would not have appeared as corrections. F^{ac} would have written out the Triclinian colometry in the *Septem* as he did in the remaining plays.

If Triclinius himself had written F, Dawe's theory would explain the facts—but he did not. Is it really possible to suppose that the scribe of F reproduced these transpositions and dots from his exemplar? In fact the situation as envisaged by Dawe sometimes leads him very near to the supposition that Triclinius wrote F—at least his words imply it, though he of course does not think that Triclinius ever saw F.

Dawe points out that the words 'Ετεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα at l. 999 (f. 47r) were added only to be deleted (cf. plate 2). I suppose it was this observation that led him to his theory of the genesis of F; in his paper he quite rightly asked[43] 'what sort of a man it is who inserts words only in order that he may delete them?' The answer is, according to Dawe, 'that it is the sort of man who, in the course of editing plays, undergoes several changes of mind'. To me this would seem to imply that the process took place in the mind of the scribe of F and not in the mind of the man who wrote the exemplar used by F^{pc}, Demetrius Triclinius. It is Triclinius who changes his mind—and how can that be reflected in F in the way supposed by Dawe? Further, how can we explain the words which were added only to be deleted? There can be no doubt as to Dawe's statement of the facts; these words were added after the main body of poetic text had been written, and then at a later stage they were deleted by a row of dots above the words. What is the explanation? It is very simple, because the addition, at least, has nothing to do with Triclinius. As Dawe correctly observes, the words were added before the marginal scholia were entered, as can be seen from plate 2. The reason why the words came to be added is that a supralinear scholium on l. 998 refers to them. On δυστόνων κακῶν l. 998 F has the note αὕτη ἡ γενικὴ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχηγέτα (Dindorf, *Scholia* 406, 17) and this scholium of course made the scribe realize that he had forgotten to copy these words from his exemplar. I wish to point out that as a rule the supralinear Thoman scholia were written in F before the marginal scholia and probably *pari passu* with the

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[43] Dawe, *op. cit.* 41.

poetic text. F^pc deleted the words at the next stage, and now we are in the presence of Triclinian influence. In T (f. 77v) Triclinius says that the words are superfluous: ὡς περισσὸν τοίνυν κείμενον ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ.[44]

In order to suggest the explanation I find the most probable, we shall consider another case. At l. 102 (f. 30r cf. plate 3) ἕξομεν was written in the text by F^ac: the word was deleted by F^pc together with two Thoman scholia on the word, one marginal and one supralinear.[45] In T the word in question has been condemned by a scholium: τὸ ἕξομεν . . . οὐκ ἦν ἔν τινι τῶν ἄγαν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων· διὸ ἐξεβλήθη καὶ τοῦτο (f. 47r). The revision of text and colometry obviously took place after the text and Thoman scholia had been written. It thus remains to be considered whether there are F^acT agreements; if such could be found, Dawe's theory would gain in strength. The following cases have been noted by Dawe:

785 (f. 43v): Dawe on p. 39 says that the τ' is in the text of F^ac and seems to imply that it stood there originally. It did not; it has been added *post correctionem*. The same goes for the καί added at the end of l. 944 by F^pc (f. 46r).

994 (f. 47r cf. plate 2): F^ac clearly has ἰὼ ἰὼ πόνος οὔφ' ἡμῖν (ὑμῖν T). This is supposed by Dawe to be a Triclinian reading; but it is also found in K, *Laur. conv. soppr.* 11 *ante correctionem* (Dawe, *Collation* 292). The curious thing is, however, that the marginal scholia which were added after the poetic text had been written, leave room for something to be added after ἡμῖν. I have no explanation to offer for this—the MS does not show any erasure in this place. Perhaps the scribe of F intended to add ἐξημμένος which he may have skipped when he wrote the text, exactly as I suggest he did at l. 999. But here he must have forgotten it again. At any rate, the non-Triclinian character of the reading is sufficiently established for my purpose.

997 (f. 47r): Dawe says that ἰὼ ἰὼ τὸ πρόσω τ' ἐμοί is Triclinian. It is correct that this reading is also in T, though there is nothing in T that compels us to regard this wording as especially Triclinian. Moreover it is not the F^ac reading; the τ' has been added by F^pc.

It appears then that the exclusive F^acT agreements alleged by Dawe are non-existent. The Triclinian elements in F are the imports of F^pc.

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[44] Cf. below p. 179.
[45] Cf. below p. 184.

What happened was that the scribe of F, having copied the *Prometheus* and the *Septem* with Thoman scholia, came across the MS τ. From this he corrected the text of the *Septem* (obviously τ did not have the *Prometheus*, at least at that time), indicating the colometry of τ in F with rows of dots,[46] and finally added the metrical commentary. Evidence for the difference between F^{ac} and F^{pc} can also be obtained from observation of the difference in ductus between the two stages: The marginal Thoman scholia written by F^{ac} are distinguished by a neat and upright round hand; the metrical commentary, on the other hand, has been written in a hurry, and the scribe here used a more cursive and coarser script (cf. plates 1-4). This view of the genesis of F may be corroborated from a survey of the position of the metrical scholia. It is evident that they have been added later than the Thoman scholia—which belong to F^{ac}; to take a few examples we may mention the scholium on *Sept.* 203 which was written at the top of f. 31v (which page contains ll. 193-214), and not in the usual position opposite the text to which it belongs, because the room in the margin there had already been occupied by a Thoman scholium (see plate 4). The metrical scholium on ll. 287 ff. has been entered at the bottom of f. 33v though the reference sign shows that it belongs before the Thoman scholium on l. 287. For comparison see the scholia at the beginning of the *Persae* (f. 49r) where Thoman marginal scholia and Triclinian metrical commentary were entered at the same time. Here the two sets stand peacefully side by side as is usual in the Triclinian manuscripts.

By another observation we may further visualize the revision of F by F^{pc} from τ. When F^{pc} copied the metrical annotation and scholia from τ he first copied the shorter notes which were probably in τ as they now are in F, suprascript or adscript. Then he tackled the longer marginal notes. This can be seen from f. 44v where the short note τροχαικὰ β′ on 832-33 has been written before the long marginal scholium on 822 ff. As this scholium begins on the recto of f. 44 in F, F^{pc} must have copied τ page by page fol-

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[46] On the subject of the dots indicating colometrical division I point out that this practice in F can be paralleled with that of Triclinius in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 of Aristophanes, cf. Koster, *Autour* 12 and in L, *Laur.* 32, 2 of Euripides, cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 249 f. Similarly F^{pc} often connects parts of cola written apart by F^{ac} by a stroke of the pen. The same practice can be found employed by Triclinius in L and in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 cf. Koster, *ibid.*

lowing this MS instead of his own; otherwise he would have finished the long scholium before he came to write the short note on 832-33.

It thus appears that F was written in a scriptorium where Triclinian scholarship was cultivated. Since F used τ directly it is extremely probable that this scribe worked in Thessalonica, and perhaps even in the very scriptorium of Triclinius. This was, in fact, the idea of Zuntz [47] and it is just possible that F was written while Triclinius was still alive. Although we do not know when Triclinius died, scholarly opinion seems to agree that he cannot have lived for very long after 1340. As I do not think it possible to date F more precisely than I have stated above, the possibility of the manuscript having been written during Triclinius' lifetime and under his supervision must remain an open question. On the other hand it is difficult to envisage Triclinius himself supervising the production of a manuscript of Aeschylus on the basis of his first recension and not on the later in T, which MS must have been written earlier than F. Of course if the date of F could be shown to be earlier than that of T the position would be different. I should think it difficult but by no means impossible to assign F to a date before T, that is to just before 1330. On the other hand it must be admitted that the very peculiar production of F requires an explanation; but I cannot see that F must necessarily have been written during Triclinius' lifetime. We do not know for how long T may have been available to scribes working in Triclinius' scriptorium; T may have left the scriptorium after the master's death, leaving the scribes with nothing but his earlier recension.

On the balance of the evidence I should prefer to believe that F was written later than T, and at a time when T was no longer available in the scriptorium, i.e. after Triclinius' death. Thus, as far as our present evidence goes we can only say that F was written in a scriptorium that had access to the first and unfinished recension by Triclinius. This scriptorium I take to be the one led by Triclinius, carrying on his tradition after his death. That such a scriptorium existed can be inferred from several indications.[48]

The fact that the *Prometheus* is without any Triclinian elements seems to prove that τ did not carry this play. One might suppose that Triclinius had done his work on that play in another MS;

[47] Zuntz, *Inquiry* 206: "the very appearance of F suggests to me that it may actually come from his scriptorium".

[48] See excursus A to this chapter.

otherwise we must entertain the possibility that the τ *Prometheus* had been lost.[49] But if the absence of Triclinian elements in the *Prometheus* in F is an argument for this play's having been lost in τ, the absence of such elements in both the *Prometheus* and the *Septem* in G must necessarily point towards a situation where both these plays had been lost.

Thus it might be possible to argue that G was copied at a later stage than F when τ had suffered further losses. This is, of course, an explanation to be considered. But we can say with some confidence that if the *Prometheus* had been in τ in a Triclinian version, F^{pc} would have revised this play in the same manner in which he revised the *Septem*. The behaviour of the scribes of G is puzzling; why did they not change *Vorlage* already in the *Septem*? I do not think we need suppose two plays to have been lost in τ; on the basis of E (cf. below p. 31) I conclude that the *Prometheus* was carried in τ without comment and critical revision by Triclinius. The behaviour of the scribes of G only goes to show the difference between a book designed for the trade and a book designed for the use of a scholar.

The metrical scholia in F are the fullest version of τ that we possess; not only does F contain the metrical commentary on the *Septem*, which is not in G, but it also has the full range of Triclinian metrical notes, some of which have been omitted in G. F also has the full commentary on the *Persae*, where G only exhibits a few notes.

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[49] Triclinius did in fact begin work on the *Prometheus* in *Vat. gr.* 1824, see Bryson, *Contributions* 147 ff., Turyn, *Euripides* 253 n. 238. Concerning the Triclinian elements in *Vat. gr.* 1824 I agree with Bryson, *Contributions* 148 that Triclinius wrote the headings on ff. 54r, 55r, 78r and 78v, but I fail to see his hand in the additions on f. 54v in the argument to *Prometheus*. These additions are quite unmistakably the work of the main scribe.

It should be pointed out that the main stock of marginal scholia (in the outer margins) in *Vat. gr.* 1824 have been entered by a second hand, who is not identical with the assistant who takes over at line 4 from the top on f. 76v and writes the remainder of this page together with ff. 77r-v, 79r-v and 80r-v (cf. Bryson, *Contributions* 147 f.). The main scribe added a good many marginal scholia and also wrote most of the interlinear matter. The marginal scholia written by the 'scholia scribe' are the Thoman scholia known from Triclinius' autograph T. Many of the scholia and notes added by the main scribe cannot be identified on our present knowledge, since we still need a modern reliable edition of the Thoman scholia. At any rate *Vat. gr.* 1824 is a most interesting MS, and it would be worth while to analyse its contents in some detail in view of its obvious connections with Triclinius

On *Vat. gr.* 1824 see now also Paul Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* 243 f. On the *Prometheus* in τ see also below p. 30 f. .

In the Triclinian section of F, the Triclinian scholia have been marked with a cross, a feature which seems to have been reproduced from the exemplar τ.[50] We should notice that on two occasions F undoubtedly made a mistake and marked non-Triclinian matter with a cross; two scholia (*Ag.* 2 and 22) though old have been thus marked, as can be seen from T where both of them have been styled παλαιά.[51]

While G, as we saw, was designed for the trade, F has the character of a scholar's copy. Whether the scribe made the copy for his own use or for another (Atumanus?) we cannot know, since the identity of the scribe of F is unknown. This diagnosis of F is certainly correct; the script is negligent, and the scholia and glosses crowd the margins, at least in the first two plays where such material was available to the copyist. His energy must have failed him when he came to write the scholia and glosses on the later plays; here he must have omitted a very great part of what his exemplar τ provided. He only copied the metrical annotation and thus betrays his Triclinian connections (or education?).

As I have already mentioned, nothing is known about F until c. 1500, when we find the book in its present state recorded in the old inventory of San Marco.[52] After its entry into the library it remained there, and was used by Victorius in his edition of 1557.[53] However, even before Victorius' edition appeared some of the F readings were given in the edition of 1552 of Robortello, whose use of F has not been recognized until now.[54] It was however Victorius' use of F that had the greater influence. His use of the MS is one of the main reasons for the confusion that has surrounded this commentary until very recently—and indeed still persists, since a critical edition has not yet appeared.

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[50] Some of the scholia on the *Prom.* have also been marked with a cross; the scribe may here have reproduced a feature of the Thoman exemplar where Thoman scholia may have been thus marked out. In the MS British Museum, *Arundel* 540 of Euripides (Turyn's symbol Za, cf. *Euripides* 99) the Thoman scholia have been prefixed with a cross and small initial—which is the normal way to mark *Moschopulean* scholia in Thomano-Triclinian MSS of Euripides.

[51] On Fraenkel's view of these wrongly marked scholia cf. p. 60.

[52] For this inventory see Ullman-Stadter 107 ff. I have accepted their dating as opposed to that given by Pertusi, *op. cit.* (above n. 29) 115.

[53] On Victorius' edition and its sources see M. Dopchie, Bulletin de l'institut belge de Rome 37, 1966, 99 ff.

[54] I treat this problem in excursus B to this chapter.

The section headed περὶ μέτρων οἷς ἐχρήσατο ὁ Αἰσχύλος in Victorius' edition p. 343 ff. was printed from F, as far as the *Septem* and *Persae* go, with some omissions. Then in the metrical commentary on the *Agamemnon* Victorius printed scholia from F as well as from the T excerpts he had been sent by Sirleto.[55] An analysis of this part of the edition is instructive:

Sch. *Ag.* 1 is from F; then sch. *Ag.* 40 is composed from both F and T, beginning with the F note and followed by the T note on the same passage. The effect is absurd since the metrical analyses in F and T are very different. Further, sch. 104-75 is from T, and sch. 681 from F, though the notes on strophe and antistrophe 681-773 are from T, in wonderful contradiction with the sch. 681 from F which does not analyse into strophes. The following sch. 783 is taken from T, while sch. 810 and 975 again come from F. Here also the notes on strophe and antistrophe from T have been edited by Victorius (sch. T 975, 988, 1001 and 1017). A single scholium from T then appears at 1035; the rest of the annotation is derived from F. In view of this remarkable amalgam it is astonishing to notice that Victorius knew enough of the metrical doctrine in F to insert correctly μονοστροφικάς at sch. 1072. In the *Eumenides* F was used for the whole play. This ill-digested conglomeration was taken over from Victorius by the subsequent editors Stanley, Pauw and Schütz. It is no wonder, then, that it also appears in Dindorf's edition (*Scholia* 513 ff.) with the remarkable note: 'scholia haec de metris quattuor fabularum scripta haud dubie ab Demetrio Triclinio, homine non ultra vulgaria diverbiorum metra sapiente, primum edita sunt ab H. Stephano . . . Ego passim correxi ex F'. Dindorf's assertion *ego passim correxi* should be taken *cum grano salis*; e.g. he omitted *Sept.* 203, *Pers.* 262, 268, 274 and 280 as did Victorius, and seems ignorant of the fact that what he took from Victorius originally came from F. Thus he did not notice anything odd about *Ag.* 40 where he only notes that F omits the part p. 522, 17-22 Dd. which is from T.[56]

[55] See Victorius' preface: "Quod vero ad Agamemnonem pertinet; ne quicquam omitteremus quod ad eius restitutionem faceret, quum audissemus Romae in bibliotheca Alexandri Farnesii . . . Aeschyli volumen inveniri, in quo haec fabula legeretur: conferendam eam, a nobis descriptam, curavimus cum eo exemplari, in quo nobis operam suam fidelem atque eruditam praebuit Gulielmus Sirletus ut cuncta diligenter notaret quae aliter illic legerentur".

[56] Van Heusde, having made a special study of T, was the first editor to remove this absurdity. In his reports of F he relied on Victorius.

It was not until Wecklein's edition that scholars were able to have trustworthy information about F; unfortunately he only printed the F scholia on the *Agamemnon*, but that was still a great service. The metrical scholia on the *Septem* and the *Persae* will be found in Appendix I of the present book.

The last manuscript to contain the proto-Triclinian metrical commentary is the manuscript E = Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria *cod.* M 233 (*olim* 1.2.13).[57] This is a paper manuscript measuring 225 × 150 mm. with 20 lines to a page in the Aeschylus section. The volume consists of at least four different parts, each of which has been written by a different scribe. These four parts are ff. 1-98, 105-110, 115-183 and 189-96. Only these leaves have been written on; as will be seen there are numerous blank sheets in the book.[58]

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[57] See C. Graux-A. Martin, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs d'Espagne et de Portugal*, Paris 1892, 177 ff.; A. Tovar, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Universitatis Salamantinae* (Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofia y Letras XV, 4), Salamanca 1963, 55 ff.; Turyn, *Aeschylus* 72 and 101 f.; Dawe, *Collation* 189 ff.

[58] Mr. Nigel Wilson has obliged me by giving me valuable information on the composition of this MS. I wish to emphasize that I have inspected the original MS myself but I had very little time and my primary object was collation of the text. I had not at that time envisaged the great difficulties connected with the procuration of supplementary information from the library.

Mr. Wilson also tells me that the last part of the volume containing some grammatical treatises should be dated to the 14th century, not the 15th, as given by Tovar.

There seems to be considerable confusion on the question of the composition of the MS. Tovar in his catalogue says that the MS consists of five parts, while J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* 260 states that the MS is composed of eight differently numbered parts. I have followed Mr. Wilson on this point.

In view of the Triclinian nature of the Aeschylus part it is of some interest to observe that on ff. 134 ff. in our MS we have the three Triclinian treatises known from his various final editions of the dramatic poets. But since the two sections have been written by different scribes they may have nothing to do with each other. Turyn mentioned these Triclinian treatises (*Aeschylus* 72) but nothing can at present be drawn from the juxtaposition of the proto-Triclinian Aeschylus and these pieces which must have been derived from the Triclinian Aristophanes. The texts are: the *Epitome* from Hephaestion, the treatise περὶ μέτρων (*inc.* ἰστέον ὅτι) and the treatise on the *syllaba communis*. Then follows Platonios, περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμωιδιῶν and the anonymous περὶ κωμωιδίας (*inc.* ὅτι ὁ γέλως) and finally Platonios, περὶ διαφορᾶς χαρακτήρων. The same pieces are found together only in the Triclinian Aristophanes MSS as far as I know: i.e. the *Vat. gr.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88, being the two extant representatives of the final Triclinian Aristophanes and, of course, the MSS, directly or indirectly descended from these MSS, for instance the

The codex in its present state was bound in the 16th century when it was owned by F. N. de Guzman.[59] In the following analysis I give first the old numbering of the folios, which only numbers the leaves written on, then I give the recent numbering which includes each single folio in the manuscript.

The Aeschylus part which together with the fragment of Aratus makes up the first section of *cod.* M 233 is on ff. 1-48r (old numbering), ff. 1-64r (recent numbering):

Ff. 1r-v *Vita*, f. 1v *arg. Prom.*, ff. 2r-25r *Prom.* 1-1004 (then follows a blank sheet with the recent number 26), ff. 26r-v (old numbering) *Prom.* 1005-42 (the modern numbering of this folio is 32, the remaining leaves of this quire δ′ beginning with f. 25 are blank). Then follows a blank quinion ff. 33-42 of the recent numbering, and on f. 27r of the old numbering (f. 43 of the recent one) we have the *Eumenides* until f. 47v (recent numbering 63v) line 7. There follows without any headline *Sept.* 1025-43 as far as f. 48r (64r recent numbering) line 6. This part of the MS then consists of four quaternions marked α-δ (ff. 1-32 recent numbering) + 1 quinion ff. 33-42 + 3 quires (1 quaternion, 1 quinion, 1 quaternion) marked 7-9 (ff. 43-64 recent numbering) of which quire 9 now only consists of four leaves. The Greek signatures on the last three quires seem to have been cut away. We also find quires α-δ signed 2-5; the Aeschylus part being preceded by a blank quire, of which now only four leaves are extant.

The composition of this part containing the *Eumenides* is very confused. In the following analysis I give the old folio numbers as well as the recent ones on page 27.

Thus besides the omissions which the Salamanca codex has in common with F and G (viz. lines 323-24, 582-644 and 778-807), it has the peculiar omissions of lines 681-718 and 983-1047. We shall return to these common omissions. The peculiar omissions in E, however, point, as was seen by Helm [60] towards an exemplar with 19 lines to a page; the transposed sections 580-81 + 645-80 amount to 38 lines, while the omission of lines 681-718 yields the same

Copenhagen *GKS* 1980, 4°. There are some differences in the order of these pieces between the Aristophanes MSS and the Salamanca MS, cf. the description of the Holkham MS given by Wilson CQ N.S. 12, 1962, 33.

This section was written, according to Graux-Martin *op. cit.* 178, by the hand of Salamanca *cod.* M 231.

[59] He wrote σταττήρων δ′ on the preliminary folio.

[60] Helm, *Demetrius Triclinius* 99 ff.

Table 1
The Eumenides in the MS E

Old fol. nos.	Recent fol. nos.		
27r	43r	Arg., 1-18	quire 7
27v	43v	19-29, 580-581, 645-651	
28r	44r	652-671	
28v	44v	672-680, 30-40	
29r–34v	45r–50v	41-282	
35r–41v	51r–57v	283-322, 325-578	quire 8
42r	58r	579, 719-737	
42v	58v	738-757	
43r	59r	758-777	
43v	59v	808-830	
44r	60r	831-852	
44v	60v	853-873	
45r	61r	874-894	quire 9
45v	61v	895-914	
46r	62r	915-934	
46v	62v	935-954	
47r	63r	955-975	
47v	63v	976-982, *Sept.* 1025-1037	
48r	64r	*Sept.* 1038-1043	

number of lines. Helm points out that in τ lines 580-81 and 645-80 must have been placed side by side since τ, as we deduce from the common omission by GFE of lines 582-644, did not carry these lines. Therefore τ had 19 lines to a page and E must have been copied directly from τ at a time when τ had already suffered the loss of lines 681-781. The transposition of lines 580-81 and 645-80 was caused by the insertion of a folio containing these lines in the wrong place, namely between the pages containing lines 11-29 and 30-49 in τ. Whether this manuscript was unbound or only loosely bound we cannot say for certain.[61]

Thus it is possible to reconstruct very exactly the *Eumenides* section of τ (see table 2). The first page will naturally have contained the argument and therefore we may assign the first 10 lines of poetic text to this page; the next will have contained the remain-

[61] This was the idea of Dawe, *Collation* 194.

ing part until line 29 where E breaks off and inserts ll. 580 ff. because of the transposition in τ. Moreover, we can state that the page beginning with l. 30 must have been a recto page because of the inserted folio containing the transposed lines. If we then follow the colometry of E and suppose each line in E to have occupied one line in τ in the lines 30-579, (line 579 being the last line before the peculiar omission 681-718 (one folio lost in τ), and therefore the last line on a verso page) we find that exactly 14 folios with 19 lines to a page must have contained lines 30-579 in τ (see table 2). The folio containing lines 681-718 had been lost in τ, probably as a result of the same physical damage that caused the folio comprising ll. 580-81 and 645-80 to become misplaced. The rest of the play will then have been accommodated in eight folios. At the time when E was copied the two last folios which contained ll. 983-1047 had been lost. It is tempting to connect the two missing folios here with the comparable gap which occurs after line 579 where one page is misplaced, another lost. According to my counting ll. 580-1047 will have filled exactly 10 folios; thus, supposing that the last part of the MS was a quinion, the losses are perfectly understandable, viz. the first two and the last two folios became loose and fell out, and the one folio saved was inserted in the wrong place between the verso and recto pages containing ll. 11-29 and 30-48.

Finally I should like to point out that the number of lines to a page for τ, namely 19, tallies exactly with that of another proto-Triclinian MS, *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 containing the Aristophanic triad. This MS too has been written with 19 lines to a page.

While on this subject I should also like to mention Turyn's discovery that the common GFET omissions show that the exemplar of τ, the lost MS ψ was written with 15-17 lines to a page. From this Turyn deduced that ψ was a MS of relatively late date, possibly the 13th century.[62] Assuming that the common omission of ll. 582-644 is explained by the loss of two folios, the 133 lines until the omission of ll. 778-807 would have occupied four folios; this

[62] *Aeschylus* 107. Turyn's argument seems not wholly cogent; I for one doubt that it is possible to date lost manuscripts solely on the basis of the number of lines to a page. Another consideration: if ψ was of the 13th century it is rather puzzling that no one but Triclinius knew this MS; it would have been produced in the milieu of the early Palaeologean renaissance and thus the silence becomes very difficult to explain. I should rather guess—though there is next to no evidence—that ψ goes back to the 12th century, to the time of Eustathius.

Table 2
The Eumenides in the lost MS τ

	R	argument, 1-10 (?)	
	V	11 (?) — 29	
	R	30-48 ←	(displaced page belongs here)
	V	49-67	
	R	68-86	
	V	87-105	
	R	106-124	
	V	125-143	
	R	144-162	
	V	163-181	
	R	182-200	
	V	201-219	
	R	220-238	
	V	239-259	
	R	260-278	
	V	279-297	
	R	298-315	
	V	316-322, 325-336	
	R	337-355	
	V	356-373	
	R	374-391	
	V	392-410	
	R	411-429	
	V	430-448	
	R	449-467	
	V	468-485, 489	
	R	486-488, 490-506	
	V	507-534	
	R	535-560	
	V	561-579	
Quinion	R	580-81, 645-661	Page displaced before E was copied
Quinion	V	662-680	Page displaced before E was copied
Quinion	R	681-699	Page lost before E was copied
Quinion	V	700-718	Page lost before E was copied
Quinion	R	719-737	
Quinion	V	738-755	
Quinion	R	756-774	
Quinion	V	775-777, 808-826	
Quinion	R	827-847	
Quinion	V	848-866	
Quinion	R	867-887	
Quinion	V	888-906	
Quinion	R	907-925	
Quinion	V	926-943	
Quinion	R	944-963	
Quinion	V	964-982	
Quinion	R	983-1001	Bifolium lost before E was copied
Quinion	V	1002-1019	Bifolium lost before E was copied
Quinion	R	1020-1037	Bifolium lost before E was copied
Quinion	V	1038-1047	Bifolium lost before E was copied

omission 778-807 might be accounted for by supposing one folio to have been lost. If the MS ψ was composed of quaternions the first, second and seventh and eigth folios may have become loose. The disappearance of the first, second and seventh folios was the obvious result, the eigth seems to have been salvaged. I admit that this is pure speculation; we cannot know whether the page beginning with l. 582 in ψ was the first page of a quaternion, though experience seems to show that the pages at the end and at the beginning of a quire are the pages most likely to become loosened from the binding through extensive use of the MS.

Let us return to E and what it may tell us about τ. I mentioned above that the fragment of the *Septem* on f. 47v and 48r followed *Eum.* 982 as if this fragment was part of the *Eumenides*. It is obvious that this fragment must have been derived from the exemplar used by the scribe of E for the *Eumenides*, that is, τ. The number of lines from the *Septem* shows that we have to do with a page from τ containing 19 lines. Having finished copying the verso page in τ that ended with l. 982 [63] the scribe of E continued with τ, but at this point a stray page from the *Septem* had been inserted. He proceeded to copy the recto of this page in the belief that these lines belonged to the *Eumenides*. He must have noticed his error, for he stopped at the verso.

It must be emphasized, however, that there is no compelling proof of the Triclinian character of these few lines from the *Septem*. This ought not to be held as proof against their having been derived from τ, since, as F shows, Triclinius in τ did not change the Thoman text of these lines.

The blank pages between f. 25 and f. 32 (recent numbering) which divide *Prom.* 1004 and 1005 seem to derive from the fact that the scribe originally intended to write the lines *Prom.* 966-1093 on a bifolium and did so, but when the book was bound, a ternion of blank sheets was inserted into this bifolium to make up a full quire. As pointed out above, the quaternion δ′ begins with f. 25 and ends with f. 32 of the recent numbering. Only f. 25r-v and f. 32r-v have been written on.

Further, it should be observed that the *Prometheus* breaks off after l. 1042 on f. 32v. It is probable that τ did not carry any more

[63] Since in τ l. 681 was the first line on a recto page, line 982 according to my calculations will have been the last line on a verso. Lines 681-982 must have occupied 7 folios in τ.

of this play when E was copied. We saw above with F that it was doubtful whether the *Prometheus* was in τ when τ was used by F. It seems to me that E indicates that the *Prometheus* was in τ and thus we must suppose that τ only contained this play in the Thoman recension without any interference from Triclinius.[64]

Perhaps the fact that τ did carry the *Prometheus* can be substantiated by the observation that while the scribe of E usually writes 20 lines to a page, f. 32 recto and verso only have 19 lines each and thus seem to reproduce exactly the arrangement of the last pages in τ containing the *Prometheus*.

Let us then return to the fragment from the *Septem*. One needs no proof to maintain that this play must have been in τ. But how much of it was originally in E? Is it possible that E only copied the *Prometheus* and the *Eumenides*? There is, moreover, a small piece of evidence that suggests that E originally contained a good deal more than it does today. *A priori* one would think that the selection of these two particular plays was at any rate an uncommon one.

Now, on f. 44v (f. 60v of the recent numbering) there is a quire signature κα′ (the second cipher must be an *alpha*) which must mean that what is now numbered as quire 4 was once quire 21. What has happened to the quires between the fifth (f. 33-42 recent numbering) and that numbered 21 (ff. 51-60)? The quire of ff. 43-50 is extant but not with its original signature and there is only the later signature 7 and the catch-word θεοῦ on f. 50v. This quire 7 must have been quire 20 of the original MS, since the quinion ff. 51-60 bears the number 21. Quires 6-19 have disappeared. What may these fourteen quires have contained if not the *Septem, Persae* and *Agamemnon*? The text of these plays amounts in modern editions to 3828 lines; and 14 quires with 20 lines to a page may accommodate 4480 lines. Thus there will have been room enough for the three plays with their sparse Triclinian *paraphernalia* (consisting only of the argument to the *Agamemnon*?).

It is at present impossible to say when the manuscript suffered these losses. In the oldest extant inventory of 1610 of the Salamanca library the book is described as *Eschilus et epistolae flarides tirani*

[64] See above on the *Prometheus* in F p. 21 f. Dawe, *The MSS* 42 observed that τ may have had the *Prometheus* but without comment. This will hardly explain the facts, since the scribe of F would then have emended the *text* of the play, and E would have copied the Triclinian text of the *Prometheus* if τ had carried the *Prometheus* in a Triclinian recension. I think we must conclude that Triclinius had worked on the *Prometheus* in another MS.

Vita Homeri et Aphtonii Sophista progimnasmata de mano [65] without any indication of the number of plays. The index on the preliminary folio only says *Escylus et Eple phalaridis.*

Very little can be said concerning the date of E. It has been impossible to obtain detailed information about the watermarks, so I can only rely on what has been given by Tovar in his catalogue.[66] His information supports a date in the second half of the 15th century; and at any rate the book can be dated to before 1511 when Guzman is known to have been in Italy for the last time, buying MSS.[67] The scribe of E has not yet been identified.

In his catalogue Tovar asserts that Guzman bought most of his MSS from Arsenius (Aristobulus) Apostolides in Venice: 'Libros Graecos manu scriptos fere omnes Pintianus in Italia obtinuit ex officina hac'.[68] None of the MSS are subscribed by any of the scribes connected with Michael Apostolis or his son Arsenius as Tovar himself admits; he maintains, however, that a fair number of the MSS have indeed been written by these scribes. Of the MSS mentioned by Tovar, a few obviously seem to come from this circle: [69] The Theognis *cod.* M 243 is by Arsenius himself,[70] and *cod.* M 54 has been identified by Dieter Harlfinger as being partly written by Thomas Bitzimanus.[71] On *cod.* M 229 Tovar says that 'forma litterarum totius libri manum scholae Michaelis Apostolis denuntiare videtur'.[72] Similarly he says on *cod.* M 284 that it 'videtur procedere ex Aristobuli Apostolis scribarum schola'.[73] As for the other MSS in his list on p. 10 he gives no reasons for the assumption that they come from the Apostolis family; he includes [74] a number

[65] *Cod. Salm.* M 25 f. 63, printed in Tovar 12 n. 24.

[66] Tovar 55 gives the Briquet nos. 3675 (Venice 1471), 5904 (Venice 1451) and 15813 (Ferrara 1445) for the whole MS without stating in which parts the different watermarks occur.

[67] Tovar 9.

[68] Tovar *ibid.*

[69] On the scriptorium of Michael Apostolis see Wittek, Scriptorium 7 1953, 290 ff.

[70] Young, Scriptorium 7, 1953, 17.

[71] Tovar says nothing about the scribes in this MS; Harlfinger, *Textgeschichte* 409 and 420 says that ff. 1-15v and 42-105v are by Bitzimanus; ff. 16-41v are by the scribe who also wrote for example *Par. gr.* 1941 ff. 147 ff.

[72] Tovar 45.

[73] Tovar 68.

[74] Tovar 10. Robert Browning, CQ N.S. 5, 1955, 200 quite correctly points out that *cod.* M 229 belonged to Lianoro de' Lianori of Bologna who was Papal collector in Spain from 1470 until his death in 1478. Thus the MS

of MSS which certainly do not prove a connection between these scribes and Guzman. I have to point out the slender evidence because Tovar then asserts that the similarity of *codd.* M 40, M 231 (the last part), M 233 and part B of M 223 to those mentioned in his list proves the four MSS to have come from the same source. According to Tovar these four MSS were written by the same scribe: 'nomen librarii qui omnes eos exaravit proponere non audeo'.[75] Moreover the scribbled notes at the end of our MS M 233 mention some towns in Messenia, causing Tovar to suggest that this MS was brought to Venice when Arsenius returned from his first stay at Monemvasia 1506-09 (not 1508 as Tovar says).[76] The evidence for Arsenius' return to Venice is a decree by the Venetian senate dated June 8, 1509 [77] and it is possible that he did stay in Venice for a short time, but he seems to have spent about ten years in Crete after his forced retirement from the see of Monemvasia. It is therefore not very probable that the *cod.* M 233 has anything to do with Arsenius, though Guzman may have met him during the short time Arsenius stayed in Venice in 1509. We do not know, however, whether Guzman was in Venice in 1509. He is known to have been at Bologna, where he bought *cod.* M 223 and M 230. If *cod.* M 223 was written in part by our scribe it seems more reasonable to suppose that Guzman also bought the *codd.* M 40, M 231 and M 233 there.

Attention was not drawn to E until the 19th century when a description was given by Graux and Martin.[78] Turyn used a few pages of E in his *Aeschylus* and there the matter was allowed to rest until Dawe in 1964 published the first systematic treatment of the MS. Finally E was collated in full for the poetic text of the *Eumenides* by Helm in 1968. The scholia of the *Eumenides* were collated for the first time by the writer in the summer of 1971 from the original. The *Prometheus* part has never been studied in detail.[79]

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has nothing to offer as proof for Guzman's connection with the Apostolis family; Guzman may have bought Lianori's books at the latter's death. *Cod.* M 48 which also belonged to Lianori, according to Tovar, has notes in Guzman's handwriting, as has the *cod.* M 229. The same applies to *cod.* M 232.

[75] Tovar 10.

[76] Tovar quotes Geanakoplos, but the latter rightly says on p. 181 that the patriarchal encyclical issued in June 1509 forced Arsenius to retire.

[77] Geanakoplos 182 refers to Manoussakas, Πελοποννησιακά 3, 1959, 144.

[78] *Notices sommaires* 177-180.

[79] Though I cannot claim that I have made an intensive study of this part I can say that there are definitely no Triclinian elements; the poetic text and the scholia are Thoman.

We shall finish our treatment of the manuscripts with the MS T, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale *cod.* II.F.31, the autograph copy of Triclinius' final recension of Aeschylus.[80]

This volume consists of 183 folios measuring 217 × 147 mm., with 15 lines to a page for the poetic text. The book has suffered extensive damage, especially the first pages and the margins in the part containing the *Prometheus*; some folios of the *Septem* are damaged to a lesser extent. This damage affects the scholia to a very large degree particularly in the first play.[81]

There are no quire signatures visible.

The date of the manuscript may be ascertained from the watermarks reported by Aubreton 21 and checked by me on the MS: Briq. 14101, 14109, 7482 and 7484. These would suggest a date approaching 1330. We can of course be certain that T is later than 1322, when G was copied in the scriptorium of Triclinius from the first recension of Aeschylus τ.[82]

In the 16th century when the MS was with Alessandro Farnese the lost f. 101 was replaced by a folio written by Joannes Honorius who copied the missing lines *Pers.* 598-627 from the Aldine edition.[83] The same scribe also added the page numbers in T at the bottom of the text column.

The contents of T are as follows (I use the modern stamped notation of the page numbers: [84] Folios 3r-2r [85] Triclinius, *Epitome Hephaestionea*, f. 2r-v Triclinius, ἰστέον ὅτι πάντα τὰ μέτρα f. 2v-4v Triclinius, περὶ τῆς κοινῆς συλλαβῆς (for these texts see Appendix II), f. 4v-5v *Vita*, f. 5v *Arg. Prom.*, ff. 6-43r *Prom.*, f. 43v *Arg. Sept.*, ff. 44r-80v *Sept.*, ff. 80v-82r *Arg. Pers.*, ff. 82r-116v *Pers.*, f. 117r *Arg. Agam.*, ff. 117v-159v *Agam.*, f. 159v *Arg. Eum.*, ff. 160r-183v *Eum.*

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[80] For earlier descriptions see Salvatore Cyrillus, *Codices graeci manuscripti Regiae Bibliothecae Borbonicae descripti atque illustrati*, II, 174 ff.; Turyn, *Aeschylus* 102 ff.; Smyth, *Catalogue* 22.

[81] Cf. Smyth, HSCP 32, 1921, 1 f.

[82] For the chronological (relative) placing of T cf. Excursus A.

[83] Honorius has been identified by me from the ductus. The fact that he used the Aldine as *Vorlage* is shown by such common blunders as *Pers.* 597 ὥστις 616 φίλοισι. The watermark in this page is similar to Briq. 492 (Lucca 1522, sim. var. Provence 1536).

Honorius' work as a restorer of MSS is well known, cf. Nolhac, *Fulvio Orsini* 162 ff.

[84] The older notation uses numbers lower by one, cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 105 n. 91.

[85] F. 2 and f. 3 have changed places probably as a result of the damage at the beginning of the book.

In the triadic plays the MS distinguishes between two main types of scholia: scholia prefixed by the note ἡμέτερον and/or a cross, and scholia marked by a large initial letter protruding from the column of the marginal commentary. The latter corpus of scholia is that of Thomas, explicitly ascribed to him at the beginning of the *Prometheus* f. 6r τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαγίστρου σχόλια, cf. the similar notes at the beginning of the *Septem* f. 44r and *Persae* f. 82r. The scholia prefixed by ἡμέτερον and/or a cross are those of Triclinius himself. A few scholia on the triad are prefixed by the note παλαιόν. They are the following:

sch. *Sept.* 80 (f. 46v, Dindorf, Phil. 20, 1863, 389) Πρὸς τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸ χ τέθειται. ἴσως δὲ στρατόπεδον καλοῖτ' ἂν τὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνδιαίτημα.

sch. *Sept.* 311 (f. 54v, Dindorf *op. cit.* 397) *inc.* Τηθύος παῖδες *des.* οὕτω λέγονται οἱ ποταμοὶ παῖδες τηθύος.

sch. *Sept.* 534 (f. 62r, Dindorf *op. cit.* 401) *inc.* Ἴουλος σημαίνει *des.* ἤτοι ὕμνους

sch. Pers. 6 (f. 82r, Massa Positano 29, 14-20) *inc.* ὅτι δαρεῖοι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο *des.* τέταρτον δαρεῖον εἶναι γράφουσιν

In the non-triadic plays the term παλαιόν is used about the 'old' scholia from ψ. Can these few notes derive from the same source? I think so, from the following considerations. In the 'old' T scholia on the *Agamemnon* there are two references to Lycophron, cf. sch. T. *Ag.* 62 (Dindorf, Phil. 20, 1863, 18) and sch. T *Ag.* 492 (Dindorf, *op. cit.* 22), neither of which is found in the Medicean scholia. To bring out the importance of these references to Lycophron it must be emphasized that there are practically no references to other poets in the 'old' T scholia that are not also found in M, except for these two references to Lycophron. It therefore seems legitimate to conclude that the ψ scholia, the 'old' corpus of scholia used by Triclinius (in T and τ) was revised—at what point we cannot know—by a scholar who had a special interest in this poet. That much seems confirmed by the sch. *Ag.* 62 in T (f. 119r):

πολυάνορος· πολυάνδρου ἐν ᾧι ζήτει καὶ Λυκόφρονος τὰ περὶ Ἑλένης εἰρημένα πεντάγαμβρα νυμφεῖα.

The discussion can be found in the Lycophron scholia on 143 (*Lycophronis Alexandra* recensuit Eduardus Scheer. Vol. II Scholia

continens, Berolini 1908, 66, 25 ff). Dindorf [86] has already pointed out that sch. *Sept.* 534, which in T is one of those marked παλαιόν, was derived from sch. Lycophr. 23 (p. 23, 14 Scheer) with a few changes and a notable shortening of the quotation from Eratosthenes, of which it now only exhibits the last three words καλὰς ἤειδεν ἰούλους.

Thus it seems that at least sch. *Sept.* 534 in T is derived from the same source as the old T scholia on the *Agamemnon*. On the other scholia παλαιά on the triad in T we may observe that sch. *Sept.* 80 corresponds to a similar note in M on *Sept.* 79 (p. 38, 12-14 Dd.), which, however, can also be found in other MSS, cf. Dindorf, *Scholia* 310, 22-23. The sch. *Pers.* 6 recurs in M p. 71, 15-20 Dd., but the last of the four old scholia, that on *Sept.* 311 can only be found among Dindorf's A-scholia *Scholia* 336, 14.[87]

At any rate these scholia cannot be Thoman; for if they were it would be hard to explain why sch. *Sept.* 534 could be Thoman and yet not appear in any of the Thoman MSS.

While on this problem I emphasize that some of the *Prometheus* scholia may have been marked παλαιά, but due to the damage in this part of T no such notes can be found.

Concerning the scholia with a large initial I wish to point out that the question of their origin has recently been misunderstood. In her edition of the T scholia on the *Persae* Lydia Massa Positano seems to regard the scholia not marked by a cross or the note ἡμέτερον as derived from the so-called scholia B and an unknown source.[88] She does not mention the basic fact that the habit of writing Thoman scholia with a projecting large initial capital is proved by *Vat. gr.* 47 f. 3r:

> τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Θωμᾶ τοῦ μαγίστρου καὶ τοῦ ⟦μοσχοπούλου⟧ κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ μοσχοπούλου σχόλια. ἴσθι δὲ ἔνθα ἐστὶ σταυρός, εἰσὶ τοῦ μοσχοπούλου, ἔνθα δέ ἐστι κεφάλαιον εἰσὶ τοῦ μαγίστρου.[89]

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[86] Phil. 20, 1863, 401.

[87] On the A scholia and Dindorf's edition cf. Herington, *The Older Scholia* 4 ff. I have found the sch. T *Sept.* 311 (with slightly different wording) in P, *Par. gr.* 2787 f. 49r and Pd, *Par. gr.* 2789 f. 43v (on the relation of these MSS cf. Herington, *op. cit.* 22 ff.). I must refer to my forthcoming study of the non-metrical scholia for the possible inferences to be drawn from these "Lycophron"-scholia. (cf. n. 93 below).

[88] Massa Positano 9 ff.

[89] Cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 106 n. 92, *Sophocles* 78 n. 80, *Euripides* 31 n. 48, *ibid.* 41.

She expressly mentions the scholia *Pers.* 319, 451, 473, 594, 742, 919, 949, 1008, 1033 and 1041 as 'inventa atque excogitata' by Triclinius himself,[90] though each of these scholia has been marked with the Thoman projected initial.

The truth was seen long ago by Smyth in his edition of the *Prometheus* commentary and we have no reason to doubt his fundamental statement: 'In N [our symbol T] the scholia of Thomas are introduced with capital letters . . . and by the projection of their initial part from the rest of the column'.[91] Smyth is here only speaking about the triad, for in the non-triadic plays the same initial is used to mark the old scholia; the Triclinian scholia in this section are as usual prefixed by a cross and the note ἡμέτερον.

This can be seen at the beginning of the *Agamemnon* on f. 117v where σχόλια παλαιά has been written above the first scholium marked by a large and projecting initial ἀστείως εἴρηται κτλ. which is an old scholium recurring in τ. Again on f. 160r, the beginning of the *Eumenides*, we find the note σχόλια παλαιά above the scholium ἡ δὴ τὸ μητρός· ἡ τῆς κοινῆς μητρὸς πάντων γῆς κτλ. which is proved to be old from its occurence in τ (shortened in M).[92]

Besides the marginal commentary, T also carries a large number of interlinear scholia and glosses. Some of these have been marked by a cross and consequently must be regarded as Triclinius' own. The curious thing is that in the two non-triadic plays there is not a single interlinear note to be found marked in this way though there cannot be any doubt that some of them must be Triclinian.[93] The only possible explanation is that in the interlinear matter Triclinius wished to mark out his own notes as distinct from those of Thomas; and since Thomas only commented on the triad, there was no need for Triclinius to isolate his own material in the non-triadic plays[94].

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[90] *Op. cit.* 9. Her diagnosis was repeated by Broadhead LXIX.

[91] HSCP 32, 1921, 93.

[92] I take it to be unnecessary to prove in detail that these scholia in fact *are* old. I hope to return to these and related problems in a study of the non-metrical scholia on Aeschylus. I wish to point out, however, that the failure of Hopfner to notice that Heimsoeth had proved the 'old' scholia in T to be old and not Thoman is not the only mistake that renders his book on the linguistic criteria of Thomas, Triclinius and Moschopulus almost useless. Cf. also Schartau, *Observations* II 144 and 145 f.

[93] Again I must refer to my forthcoming treatment of the non-metrical scholia for a detailed survey of this problem. For the time being I may refer to George Thomson, CQ N.S. 17, 1968, 232 ff.

[94] For the extent of Thomas' work and related problems cf. below p. 132 ff.

The lay-out of the pages in T can be closely paralleled with the only other known autograph copy of a final Triclinian dramatic edition, namely the Euripides *Angelicus graecus* 14. The scholia are written in one marginal column in the dialogue sections; in the lyric sections where room is needed for the metrical commentary, on the recto page Triclinius uses the space between the shorter lyric cola and the marginal column of exegetic scholia for another column of metrical annotation. On the verso side this column of metrical annotation is accordingly written in the inner margin. This division between the exegetic/textual scholia and the metrical scholia has been more or less constantly employed. In a single case in f. 19v the non-metrical scholium on *Prom.* 410 has been written in the column reserved for metrical analysis.

This clear arrangement is only found in the folios containing the triad; the section of T containing the two non-triadic plays arranges the scholia in one marginal column, except for a few pages ff. 134v, 142r, 154v and 155r.

As a rule the non-metrical scholia are written on the one page; if there is not room enough in the marginal column, the bottom of the page is used to finish the scholium. The metrical scholia, however, are often carried on from one page to the next. For instance the analysis of the section *Sept.* 78 ff. is divided into five parts across f. 46v-48v to follow the cola which are analysed in the scholium.

The space covered by the poetic text is approximately 165 × 80 mm., the marginal column of scholia has a width of 30-35 mm., and the inner column of metrical scholia usually measures 20 mm.

The book seems to have been written as a whole, over one period of continuous work. There are no conspicuous changes in ductus throughout the volume.

Triclinius began of course by writing the poetic text; then he added names of speakers, metrical summaries of the usual type and some short summary descriptions of the lyric sections, cf. e.g. f. 51v where the scholium on *Sept.* 223-25 κατὰ περικοπὴν ἴαμβοι γʹ. ἐπὶ τῶι τέλει παράγραφος evidently was written before the marginal scholium ἐνταῦθα αἰσχύλος σωματοποιεῖ κτλ. on *Sept.* 224. The notes γνώμη were added together with these summaries. It is difficult to know whether the interlinear matter was written *pari passu* with the text; but at least we can say that this material had been entered when the marginal scholia were written. The writing of the exegetic/textual and metrical scholia was the last stage of the production of

the book. A good example can be seen on f. 142r where it is obvious that the interlinear scholia were written before the marginal metrical scholium *inc.* τίπτε μοι had been entered.

There can be no doubt that Triclinius did not regard this book as finished; there are in the *Eumenides* various indications that he was not yet satisfied with his recension (see the sch. 365 b, 502-505 and 515-518 in Turyn's edition, *Aeschylus* 125 ff.). On the other hand the book as such is a finished product. Whether Triclinius hoped to find further material or carry out further work on the problems left unsolved we have no means of knowing.

There is, however, one aspect of the shape of T that may profitably be discussed in this connection. The exegetic scholia on the *Eumenides*, all of which are old, barring a few random notes, stop short after *Eum.* 212 exactly as they do in τ (represented by GFE). Is this a feature that goes back to the source of τ, the lost MS ψ? Or is it only a feature of τ? If ψ did contain exegetic scholia on the remaining part of the play the inference seems almost inescapable hat ψ was no longer available when Triclinius wrote T. Our investigation of the textual work of Triclinius may shed some light on this question. *A priori* it seems more reasonable to suppose that the total absence of non-metrical annotation after *Eum.* 212 was a feature of the working exemplar τ, rather than of the old source ψ.

The history of our MS is most imperfectly known. It must have been written around 1325-30, but nothing is known about it until c. 1551 when Victorius was carrying out research on Aeschylus and heard of the MS, then in the library of Alessandro Farnese.[95] How and when it came to Rome we do not know; the inventory of the library in the Palazzo Farnese dates from 1584, and our book is no. 105.[96] At some time in the 16th century it was repaired by Joannes Honorius, as I have stated above, and probably at the same time an apograph was made by the unknown scribe of the Vienna MS *phil. gr.* 334 (Turyn's symbol Ta).[97] Only the scholia were copied in

[95] See Victorius' preface quoted above n. 55. The date of Victorius' work can be inferred from his letter dated November 13th, 1556 to Sirleto where he says that he sent the manuscript of his Aeschylus to Stephanus three years previously. Cf. Dopchie *op. cit.* 103 f.

[96] F. Benoit, Melanges d'archeologie et d'histoire 40, 1923, 181.

[97] On this MS see Turyn, *Aeschylus* 108 with n. 95; Hunger, *Katalog* I, 430 gives a modern description to which I have nothing to add but what has been said in my paper RhM 116, 1973.

I should mention, though, that both Mr. Bjarne Schartau and Dr. Otto Kresten who have examined the MS for me in order to try to identify the

Ta, and the different corpora of scholia separated, though not always successfully.[98] At the time when this copy was made T had suffered from damp already. The scribe of Ta gives explicit testimony to this fact; on f. 53r he copied the schol. *Prom.* 241 until the words ἀριθμὸς (Smyth supplies ἁρμονία in T) δὲ γίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴρω τὸ ἐπαίρω then he carries on καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ἃ λείπουσιν ἐν τῶι ἀντιγράφωι διὰ τὴν παλαιότητα τῶν γραμμάτων. This is, as the subsequent note δημητρίου τοῦ τρικλινίου shows, one of the Triclinian scholia mistakenly placed in the Thoman section of Ta. This 16th century scribe also made some additions in T: on f. 35r on *Prom.* 853 he added ση(μείωσαι) ὅτι ὁ ὑπομνηματιστὴς καὶ εἰς ἑκάβην εὐριπίδου ἐξήγησιν ἔγραψεν.

In his own copy of the scholia (Ta f. 67v) he wrote ση in the margin referring to the sch. *Prom.* 853. If I am not mistaken the same scribe added the note ση a good many times in T, cf. ff. 64r, 81r, 83r etc.; in fact, all occurrences in T of this note seem to me to be by this scribe.

Victorius who was the first editor to use T, had his own text made on the basis of M and F collated with T by Sirleto. His use of the metrical scholia in T has been dealt with above; here we only have to point out the unhappy result of the inclusion in his edition of a number of non-metrical scholia from T. He did not give the source of the non-metrical scholia in the part of the *Agamemnon* not preserved in M, and thus began the myth of the scholia 'quae Victorius exhibet'.[99] Dindorf and Wecklein took over these scholia from Victorius; and Wecklein printed them together with the M scholia without indicating which scholia were old and which were Triclinius' own. Even if Wecklein did not consult T, he could have seen in van Heusde's edition the true nature of Victorius' scholia.

Of the T scholia the only full editions are that of the *Prometheus* commentary by Smyth and that of the *Persae* by Massa Positano. Van Heusde's edition of the *Agamemnon* presents the material in a most unsatisfactory way, but it is possible to use it. Turyn has published a not entirely satisfactory edition of the *Eumenides*-commentary, but for the *Septem* and the *Agamemnon* we have, for the time being, to use the publications by Dindorf.

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hand, were unable to reach a conclusion. Both of these scholars agree with me that the hand is that of a professional Greek scribe and that the book, as can be seen from the Roman letters used as quire signatures, must have been written in Italy.

[98] See my paper mentioned above n. 97.

[99] Cf. Fraenkel, *Agamemnon* I, 34 f.

EXCURSUS A:
THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF TRICLINIUS' WORK AND THE HISTORY OF HIS SCRIPTORIUM

In this Excursus I propose to deal with what evidence we have for the chronology of Triclinius' work and the Triclinian MSS. The main conclusions have been published by me in the paper *Demetrius Triclinius and his Editions of the Attic Dramatists* (Danish with English summary) Museum Tusculanum 21-22, 1973, 48 ff.

An attempt at a survey of Triclinius' work on the dramatists and its relative chronology was made by Aubreton 20 ff.; his sketch has now been superseded by Turyn's discussion of the problem in *Euripides* 32 ff. I think that it is possible to go further than Turyn did and I shall begin by stating the relative chronology of the final editions.

Turyn's basic conclusion was that the sequence was Euripides-Sophocles-Aeschylus and the Aristophanes after the Sophocles. This he deduced from the following facts: In Aeschylus there is a reference in the sch. *Sept.* 92 to sch. Eur. *Or.* 190 εἴρηται ἡμῖν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ and a further reference sch. *Pers.* 795 to sch. Eur. *Or.* 523 and/or sch. Soph. *Aj.* 75. Thus the Aeschylus commentary must be the latest of the series. The relation between the Euripides and the Sophocles is less easy to determine. Turyn suggested that the Sophocles was the later work because it was a larger undertaking than the Euripidean triad. There are however some indications which, though far from compelling, still merit descussion. In his scholium on *Pers.* 1 Triclinius compares this passage with the structure of the *parodoi Aj.* 134 ff. and *Phoen.* 202 ff. adding: ὡς καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις εἴρηται. This reference is certainly to *Phoen.* 202 ff. where we find a considerably longer note on this structure with comparisons between the parodos in question and *Aj.* 134 ff., *Sept.* 78 ff. and *Ag.* 40 ff. At *Sept.* 78 ff. we find the same *Belegstellen*: *Aj.* 134 ff., *Phoen.* 202 ff. and *Ag.* 40 ff. There are no references here to previous treatments of the matter but there cannot be any doubt that the note was originally written on *Phoen.* 202 ff. This is proved by the curious way in which the *Agamemnon* is cited in the sch. *Phoen.* 202 ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνονι ὀνομαζομένωι δράματι αὐτοῦ. Such a manner of citing the *Agamemnon* is clearly explicable on the hypothesis that he is mentioning a play not usually read and as yet not edited by himself, but when in his own edition of the plays of Aeschylus he cites at *Sept.* 78 ff. the *Agamemnon* in precisely the

same way ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι ὀνομαζομένωι δράματι τοῦ παρόντος ποιητοῦ we must conclude that he simply took over his earlier *Phoenissae* note. At *Ag.* 40 he cites (cf. p. 219) his note on *Pers.* 1 ff. The interesting point is that in the Sophocles commentary on Ajax 134 ff. there are no *Belegstellen* and no references to earlier treatments. If the Euripides had been the earlier work one would surely have expected a reference to *Phoen.* 202 ff. I am not sure whether this constitutes unassailable evidence of the priority of the Sophocles commentary but I should think that it is an indication in that direction. The reference to Pindar at sch. *Aj.* 596 and the more general reference to that poet at *Aj.* 172 are of the same kind; not conclusive but certainly explicable on the hypothesis that Sophocles was treated in the final form as the first of the dramatists after Triclinius' work on Pindar had been finished. At *Aj.* 172 Triclinius refers to Pindar and Simonides concerning the structure τριὰς ἐπωδική, a reference absent from the parallel notes at sch. *Prom.* 397 and *Hec.* 629.

As regards the place of the Aristophanes commentary, W. J. W. Koster (*Scholia* 12, cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 36) pointed out that it was later than the Sophocles, for at sch. *Plut.* 286 Triclinius unmistakably refers to his scholium on Ajax 733.

There is also proof that the Aeschylus edition is later than the one of Aristophanes. At *Ran.* 1408 (*Holkham gr.* 88 f. 103v, *Vat. gr.* 1294 f. 101v) Triclinius says:

> μὴ θαυμάσῃς ἐνταῦθα εἰ ἀνάπαιστον τέθεικεν ἐν τῶι τέλει τοῦ στίχου· οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἀνάπαιστον τιθέασιν ὡς αἰσχύλος ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνηι πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ χορεῖον.

The line referred to, *Sept.* 2 has in *Neap.* II.F.31 (f. 44r) the following scholium:

> εἴρηται ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὅτι εὕρηται ἐν τῆι ἕκτηι τοῦ ἰάμβου χώραι οὐ μόνον ἀνάπαιστος. . . ἀλλὰ καὶ χορεῖος.

Clearly the reference is to sch. Ar. *Ran.* 1408.

With the Sophocles as the first edition in the series the only problem left is whether the Euripides was before or after the Aristophanes. This problem I do not feel able to solve at present since most of the Aristophanes material remains unpublished. What we can say with absolute certainty is that the Aeschylus commentary in *Neap.* II.F.31 was the last of Triclinius' editions of the

Greek dramatists, with the Aristophanes being prior to the Aeschylus and later than the Sophocles. Less certain is the place of Sophocles as the first in the series of the final editions of the dramatists. It may also be relevant to point out that there are no references in the Euripides to Aristophanes, nor are there any references at all in the Sophocles commentary.

How much can we say about Triclinius' work in terms of absolute chronology? As is well known the only dated autographs by Triclinius are the Oxford, *New College* 258 subscribed (f. 250v, cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 103 n. 89) in August 1308 and the Venice Hesiod *Marc. gr.* 464 subscribed on August 20th, 1316 (f. 78r) and on November 16th, 1319 (f. 218r). The Aeschylus autograph must be later than c. 1317. This can be established on several grounds. First of all we have the important evidence of the breathings. As was first stated by Fraenkel (*Agamemnon* 13 n. 3), Triclinius changed his way of writing breathings. In the Oxford MS the breathings are invariably rounded, while the Aeschylus MS always exhibits angular ones. This point was later elaborated by Turyn, *Euripides* 26 ff. who called attention to the fact that the earlier part of *Ven. Marc.* 464 has rounded breathings while the later part shows the angular form (cf. now also Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, 124f.). As Turyn said (*Euripides* 26f.): 'We can. . . establish that Triclinius acquired the habit of angular breathings at some time in the period 1317-19'. We shall return to this important—and sometimes neglected—criterion. Secondly, the *Neap.* II.F.31 must be later than the MS G, probably written around 1321-1322 (cf. p. 6), since nothing but τ was available for scribes working in Triclinius' scriptorium at the time when G was written.

As is well known, the second autograph of a final Triclinian edition, the *Angel. gr.* 14, was produced over an extended period of work. I follow Turyn, *Euripides* 32, in assigning the original Thoman basis to c. 1300-1310; this part is not by Triclinius, but since the hand in *Angel. gr.* 14 is the same as that in the likewise Thoman basis of Par. *Suppl. gr.* 463, we should surmise that both MSS were produced on Triclinius' order and therefore at a time when he was the master of a scriptorium. The first stage of work in *Angel. gr.* 14 by Triclinius is distinguished by the use of black ink and rounded breathings; thus, on the basis of the breathings this stage cannot be later than c. 1319. Later he used brownish ink and angular breathings, so this part must be later than 1319 but earlier than the final

Aeschylus since the references in the Aeschylus are to scholia in the latest part of the Euripides.

The third autograph Paris, *Suppl. gr.* 463 is *not* a final edition but it can be placed before c. 1317 on the basis of the rounded breathings used. The Thoman basis of *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 must have been produced at about the same time as the Thoman basis of *Angel. gr.* 14 because of the identity of the scribes, possibly around 1300-1310.

In none of the three MSS do the watermarks furnish much help towards accurate dating. There are no watermarks in *Suppl. gr.* 463 (Koster, *Autour* 11 with n. 2), and those in *Angel. gr.* 14 have not been reported in such a way that they can be used in dating the MS. Tuilier, *Recherches critiques* 204 n. 1 gives Briq. 5591 (Verona 1331) and 12468 (Palermo 1331) but does not state whether these are the only watermarks found in the folios of western paper; instead he asserts that these watermarks 'ne permettent pas de remonter au delà de 1330-1331' which is patently false. The watermarks in *Neap.* II.F.31 do not permit a precise dating either (cf. p. 34).

Using the criterion of the breathings we can further date the autograph work of Triclinius in L, *Laur.* 32, 2 to a time before 1317 since his writing there does not show any angular breathings (Turyn, *Euripides* 257 f.). Likewise the additions in the hand of Triclinius in the MS *Ven. Marc.* 483 are to be dated to before c. 1317 on the same grounds, and since this work was in a way *progymnasmata* to his Pindar, the edition of this poet should be placed accordingly.

On this evidence the only Triclinian autograph work that can be safely dated to after 1319 is the final stage of the *Angel. gr.* 14 and the *Neap.* II.F.31, of which the latter can be further dated to after c. 1321-1322. Nothing forbids the belief that the final Aeschylus was made c. 1325, and we have no reason at all to date it very much later. I hesitate to date the MSS exclusively from the appearance of the *ductus*, though it is undeniable that a marked difference is found between the Oxford MS and the later folios of the *Angel. gr.* 14 and the Aeschylus. However, it is not possible to remove the latest part of the Euripides very far from the Aeschylus autograph on the basis of the *ductus* alone. We have to place the Aristophanes either at some time between the latest stage of the *Angel. gr.* 14 and the Aeschylus or before the completion of the former edition; but there

is absolutely no evidence at all for Triclinius' working much later then c. 1325. His editions of Pindar and Theocritus were as far as we can see earlier than his work on the dramatists in the final editions.

For all we know, Triclinius may have been dead by 1330 when we find the earliest copies made from his autograph MSS. Before the discussion of these copies there are some further chronological clues to be evaluated. First of all I wish to mention the fact that there is evidence for Triclinius' discovery of the old manuscript ψ which he used in τ for the non-triadic plays at some time before c. 1310. In L there is a scholium on *Hcld.* 407 (*Laur.* 32, 2 f. 92r) which quotes l. 1352 of the *Agamemnon* (cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 257). This scholium cannot have been composed by any other person than Triclinius himself (cf. Zuntz, *Inquiry* 187) and since the scholium has been written in L not by Triclinius, but by the text-scribe it must have been copied from an autograph Triclinian note in the exemplar of L, the lost copy Λ. Now L can be dated on the evidence of the watermarks to around 1310, cf. p. 74 n. 49 and the date of its exemplar must accordingly be somewhat earlier. The interesting thing is that though Triclinius at some time around 1310 had found a MS containing two new and practically unknown plays of Aeschylus he did not include them in L, nor in P, the MS of 'Tragoediae Graecae quae extant omnes' (Zuntz, *Inquiry* 135). Moreover the triad of Aeschylus in L and P seems unaffected by Triclinian metrical work. Very probably Triclinius at that time had not yet begun critical work on Aeschylus at all. He had, however, begun work on Sophocles, witness the metrical notes in L on the Ajax (cf. p. 80 n. 55) and the probable early Triclinian notes in the MSS of the socalled Paris recension (cf. p. 92 n. 70).

Then we must consider the non-autograph MSS of Triclinius' various recensions and working copies. We cannot know how many of these early copies of Triclinius' autographs and working copies were made during his lifetime. The absence of corrective work by Triclinius in these MSS cannot be used as a reliable criterion since the MS P in Euripides was no doubt written while Triclinius was alive and still does not carry a single correction or note in his hand.

Let us begin by considering the Pindar MS *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94. To be sure, this MS has been held by Irigoin (*Pindare* 339 and 341, *Les scholies* 165 f.) to be a recension corrected by Triclinius himself.

Irigoin maintained that Triclinius wrote the note on f. 9r in *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94 (cf. plate 9):

ἐντεῦθεν ἐμετρήθη τὰ πύθια παρ' ἐμοῦ δημητρίου τοῦ τρικλινίου.

Though the scribe keeps παρ' ἐμοῦ, I agree with Turyn, *Euripides* 32 n. 49 that this note was *not* written by Triclinius but by the scribe of the MS. This scribe was none other than the scribe of *Vat. Urb.* 142 (on this MS see Turyn, *Euripides* 194 ff.), the direct apograph of *Angel. gr.* 14. I have compared, with a positive result, the writing of these MSS; the hands are completely identical. When were these made? Irigoin, *Pindare* 338 gives the watermarks for *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94 as Briq. 3165 (Bologna 1329), a watermark which he also claims for *Par. gr.* 2711 and *Vat. gr.* 1294 (see below). But as we shall see, *Par. gr.* 2711 does not have this watermark which belongs to a type with a large number of variants (two circles transversed by a line ending in a cross). It must be stressed that these watermarks are only of the same *type*; Irigoin, Museum 64, 1959, 150 and Dietz 66 would seem to regard the watermarks in *Vat. gr.* 1294, *Par. gr.* 2711 and *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94 as *identica* with Briq. 3165. Thus I hesitate to accept Irigoin's report and attach more importance to the report of the watermarks in *Urb.* 142. I owe this report to Mr. Bjarne Schartau who in connection with his research on the Triclinian MSS of Euripides obtained it from Paul Canart:

'*Urbin. gr. 142*
partie plus ancienne (pliure in 8°): (ff. 1-3, 8-12: pas de filigrane visible)

1) ff. 13-20, 29-60, 69-100 (p. ex. ff. 17 + 18, 37 + 38, 99 + 100): arbalète; cf. M (Mošin-Traljić) 257-258. (= 1353-7, 1359-1360).
2) ff. 21-28 (p. ex. ff. 26 + 27):
fruit: poire et deux feuilles; cf. M 4290? (= 1345-54)
3) ff. 61-68, 101-148, 149-156 (avec le 4), 165-180 (p. ex. ff. 67 + 68, 105+106, 179 + 180):
2 cercles traversés et surmontés par un trait simple, papier a grosses vergeures; cf. M 1937-1959.
4) ff. 149-156 (avec le 3) (p. ex. f. 150: papier d'un autre format recoupé aux dimensions du précédent): hache de bucheron; cf. M 4626

(ff. 157-164 et 181-186: pas de filigrane visible)
binion plus récent in 4°: ff. 4-7

5) ff. 4-7 (p. ex. ff. 4 + 7):
hache d'armes (hallebarde); proche de M 4700 = B 7514.
bifolium plus récent in 4°: ff. 187-188

6) ff. 187-188 (ff. 187 + 188):
je n'ai pu l'identifier (le papier est de la fin du XIVe ou du début du XVe siècle)'.

It seems then that the original part of *Urb.* 142 was written c. 1345-1350. If the scribe of *Urb.* 142 also wrote *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94 the date 1330 (the date given by Irigoin) would not be impossible, but I think we must date it some years later. At any rate both MSS must have been written after the death of Triclinius, and since both are copies of Triclinian editions the conclusion that they were both made in his former scriptorium seems almost inescapable. Where, if not in the scriptorium once led by Triclinius, could the scribe have written these two MSS? The Triclinian Pindar was further copied by one Joannes Anagnostes Apostolarius in 1337 (not the scribe of *Laur.* 10.15, cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, 187) in the MS *Vind. phil. gr.* 219 (Hunger, *Katalog* 330, Bick, *Wiener Schreiber* Nr. 24). It is not certain that the MS actually was *copied* at Serrae (a suggestion by Holzinger, *Die Aristophaneshss* 97), but the MS was there at an early date, and so would seem to have been written at Thessalonica rather than at Constantinople.

The watermarks in *Vind. phil. gr.* 219—at least in the Pindar portion—have been reported differently by Holzinger, *Die Aristophaneshss* 36 and by Hunger, *Katalog* I, 330. Holzinger says that the watermarks reported by Hunger as var. Briq. 3185 occur six times in the MS; it is found four times ff. 21-28 in the Pindar part, but Holzinger mentions three numbers from Briquet viz. nos. 3191, 3165 and 3194. Dr. Otto Kresten, who has examined the watermarks for me in the Pindar part ff. 8-100 tells me that this type, two circles transversed by a line, occurs in ff. 21-28 but according to his minute report the watermark in these folios cannot be any of the Briquet numbers given by Holzinger, nor can it be var. Briq. 3185. Of the specimens of this type reproduced in Mošin-Traljić (nos. 1973-1989), none are exactly identical, but as Dr. Kresten reminds me, it is impossible in the Vienna MS to be certain whether there is a horizontal line between the circles or not (type Mošin-

Traljić 1991-2009) because this part of the watermark is hidden in the binding; in my view Mošin-Traljić 1996 would be the most promising candidate, since this watermark is of the same dimensions as the one in the Vienna MS. On the other watermarks in the Pindar part I should add that the *Flacon* in ff. 8-12 is only remotely similar to Briq. 6252, and that the Crown (ff. 13-20) definitely is not identical with Briq. 4597; it is however identical with the watermark Crown type B published by Dieter Harlfinger in G. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras* I. Teil (Wiener byzantinistische Studien X. 1) Wien 1973, 29 from the MS *Ven. Marc.* 446.

In connection with the Pindar edition I should also discuss the only contemporary reference to Triclinius' work. At the end of the metrical scholia on the *Olympian* I there is the following note:

> ὅτι τὰ γραφέντα περὶ τῶν μέτρων τῶν κώλων ἐν ἀρχαῖς πάντων τῶν ὀλυμπίων ἐπινικίων καὶ τοῦ πρώτου μόνου τῶν πυθίων παλαιά ἐστι. διωρθώθη δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σοφιστοῦ ἤτοι μυσταγωγοῦ κυροῦ δημητρίου τοῦ τρικλινίου. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν πυθίων ἐμετρήθη παρ' αὐτοῦ πολλῶν τινων καθ' ἡμᾶς σοφῶν εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸν προτρεψάντων (cf. Abel 49 app.).

This note is extant in most Triclinian MSS of Pindar and must have been copied, at least in *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94 and *Vind. phil. gr.* 219 from the master copy in the scriptorium. This master copy, then, cannot have been written by Triclinius himself. The note does not offer evidence of Triclinius' being alive or dead at the time when it was composed; the diction is quite remarkable and I have not found another case where a Byzantine scholar has been described as a mystagogue. It is no wonder that, according to Abel's apparatus, some MSS instead have the usual παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου.

We now turn to the Sophocles, *Par. gr.* 2711—we can discard its brother, *Ven. Marc.* 470, in this connection because this MS is from the 15th cent. (on both these MSS cf. Turyn, *Sophocles* 74 ff.)—on which Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, 185 has given valuable new information. Turyn has found that the MS *Neap.* III.C.19 was copied by the same scribe, and since this Naples codex has been subscribed (f. 246r) in September 1335, our Paris Sophocles must be dated to around the same time. The watermarks in *Par. gr.* 2711 are, according to a report to me from M. Charles Astruc, Briq. 3187 (Siena 1328) and Briq. 707 (Malines 1353). M. Astruc points out that the earlier reports are faulty. Thus the evidence of the water-

marks supports the dates supplied by the identification. Further MSS by this scribe are the Plutarch *Par. gr.* 1672, ff. 707r-869r, the mathematical MSS Ferrara *Bibl. Com. Ariostea,* Classe II No. 178 and *Par. gr.* 2450 (cf. Turyn, *loc. cit.*). The writing style of this scribe, especially in the Plutarch, *Par. gr.* 1672 (for specimens of the writing in this MS cf. P. A. Hansen, *The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch's De Malignitate Herodoti,* Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin, Université de Copenhague 2, Copenhague 1969, plates 1 and 2) strongly resembles that of the scribe of two other Triclinian MSS *Par. gr.* 2821 and Parma, Bibl. Palat. *Fondo Parmense* 154 (for details of these two MSS cf. p. 81 ff). As to whether the two scribes were to be identified with each other or not I have hesitated for a long time, and I leave the question open.

Considering its date the Sophocles *Par.* 2711 most probably was made after the death of Triclinius, but still in his scriptorium. The same, I think, goes for *Vat. gr.* 1294, one of the two representatives of the final Aristophanes, on which see p. 97. Its *gemellus,* the *Holkham gr.* 88 is too late (14th-15th century) to have been written in the same place, but we know too little of the early history of the Holkham MS.

The MS *Vind. phil. gr.* 163 seems to have come from the same scriptorium. This MS contains Sophocles and Aristophanes in the Triclinian recension (cf. Turyn, *Sophocles* 77 and Holzinger, *Die Aristophaneshss* 63 ff.), but the Euripides on ff. 1-108v seems uninfluenced by Triclinius. The watermarks in *Vind. phil. gr.* 163 are, according to Hunger, *Katalog* 267 (cf. also Holzinger, *op. cit.* 53) Briq. 1644 (Bologna 1344-1351), var. Briq. 14096 or 14107 (Bologna 1321-1324, Grenoble 1335). Since the latter watermark is not safely identified and only occurs on ff. 52 and 57, I propose to follow the indications of Briq. 1644 in order to date the MS approximately.

The latest of these Triclinian MSS would seem to be *Par. gr.* 2821 dated by the watermark Briq. 3230 (Verona 1367) and thus hardly written very much before 1352. Parma 154 must be contemporary.

Thus until well into the middle of the 14th cent. the Triclinian tradition was carried on in the scriptorium once led by him. I cannot pursue here the later history of his MSS but I should mention the curious fact that the great Italian collector Antonio Corbinelli would seem to have had contacts, probably through Aurispa, with a centre containing Triclinian MSS almost a century after Triclinius'

death (cf. Rudolf Blum, *La Biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e i codici di Antonio Corbinelli*, Studi e Testi 155, Città del Vaticano 1951, 48 f.). Corbinelli owned at least three Triclinian MSS, *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94, *conv. soppr.* 172 (the Florentine part of P) and *conv. soppr.* 8. This last MS may have come from Triclinius' scriptorium. It contains on ff. 296-320 a direct copy of some parts of the *Marc. gr.* 483 (cf. Studemund, *Anecdota* I, 91 with note, for a full description of the contents of this MS *conv. soppr.* 8). The Pindar portion also seems to have had something to do with Triclinius, since the text is Triclinian in *Ol.* VII, VIII, XIII and XIV (otherwise it is Moschopulean) and a second hand has added Thomano-Triclinian scholia (cf. Irigoin, *Pindare* 364). Finally the Hesiod ff. 228-255 is, according to Livadaras, Ἱστορία 212, a copy, with many foreign elements, of *Ven. Marc.* 464, the Triclinian Hesiod. This codex has been written by three different hands as follows (for the following I am greatly indebted to Dr. Eugenia Levi who kindly sent me a detailed report): I. ff. 1-206, 296-320; II. ff. 207-254; III. ff. 255-295. The quire signatures show that the MS is composed of five parts, viz. ff. 1-32, 33-206, 207-254, 255-295, 296-320. According to Dr. Levi the MS 'proviene certamente da unice centro scrittorio'. This must be the Triclinian one. The date of the MS is tolerably established from the following watermarks which have also been supplied by Dr. Levi:

I. ff. 1-8, 214-221 (no. VI is also found here), 222-253, *arbalète* similar but not identical with Mošin-Traljić 219 (= 1337).
II. ff. 9-103, 150-173, 182-190, 197-205, 296-320, *pot* type Mošin-Traljić 6844 (= 1343).
III. ff. 104-149, 174-181 *aigle* type Mošin-Traljić 66 (= 1345).
IV. ff. 192-195 *saucisson* type Mošin-Traljić 6951 (= 1344).
V. ff. 207-212 *cloche* type Mošin-Traljić 2984 (= 1340/50)
VI. ff. 214-221 *poire* type Mošin-Traljić 4222 (= 1330-41)
VII. f. 254 *poire* type Mošin-Traljić 4215 (= 1325)
VIII. ff. 263-295 nearly invisible.

Though none of these can be identified exactly with the watermarks in Mošin-Traljić we are justified in dating the MS to around 1330-1340. At any rate the MS must be earlier than 1360. This codex cannot very well have been written anywhere else but in the

Triclinian scriptorium. The date of it is not quite certain; it must be earlier than 1360, since there is on f. 330v a note, in a hand different from that of the scribe, referring to that year. The main scribe is one Demetrius Cabasilas who subscribed on f. 206r δημητρίου ἀναγνώστου καὶ καβάσιλα. It is not certain who this man was. There are a number of persons of this and similar names in the period. A completely different hand subscribed the MS *Vat. gr.* 507 in 1344, cf. Turyn, *Codices Vaticani* 143 f. against G. I. Theocharidis, Ἑλληνικά 17, 1962, 7 n. 3 who identifies the scribe of *Vat. gr.* 507 with that of *Laur. conv. soppr.* 8. The scribe of *Vat. gr.* 507 also wrote *Laur.* 6, 9 and owned *Vat. gr.* 81 (Turyn, *op. cit.* 144 f.). He may be identified with the correspondent of Nicephorus Chumnus (Turyn, *op. cit.* 145; this correspondent was a scribe, cf. J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos* 69), but neither the scribe of *Laur. conv. soppr.* 8 nor the friend of Chumnus can be identified with the correspondent of Demetrius Cydones or the friend of Nicephorus Gregoras both of whom bear the same name (Turyn, *op. cit.* 145); these last two men were identified as one by V. Laurent, Échos d'Orient 30, 1931, 347, cf. also G. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras* I, 38 f. who identifies, without mentioning Turyn's discussions, one Demetrius Cabasilas, to whom two letters in Gabras' correspondence are addressed, with the correspondent of Gregoras and Chumnus. There is a further MS mentioning a Demetrius Cabasilas; the Leiden *Voss. gr.* Q A 4 belonged to one Demetrius Cabasilas according to the owner's entry on f. 13v. This hand is completely different from those mentioned before as has been properly stated by Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, XXIII. Though we cannot identify the scribe of *Laur. conv. soppr.* 8 with any of the other known persons of that name, he has a strong claim for being located at Thessalonica; the name Cabasilas is attested there already in 1022 (Theocharidis *op. cit.* 6 with n. 1) and it is notoriously connected with Thessalonica in the 14th century, witness Nicolaus Cabasilas. (On the Cabasilas family in the 14th century, cf. D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai* 123 where further literature can be found). So I venture to guess that we have in *Laur. conv. soppr.* 8 another product of the Triclinian scriptorium.

There is certainly material for further research in this matter; at present I can do no more than review published information but I hope to return to the problem of the Triclinian scriptorium in the not too distant future. Some of the early copies of the Hesiod,

Marc. gr. 464 would seem to merit further investigation cf. Chap. II n. 78; since I have no first hand knowledge in this matter I must necessarily leave the problem here (cf. also my note below p. 199 n. 72 on *Matr.* 4617).

Excursus B:
Robortello's Use of F

Robortello's edition which appeared in 1552 (*Aeschyli Tragoediae Septem, Venetiis apud Gualterium Schottum*) was, to judge from the editor's preface, based on several manuscripts in the section containing the triadic plays ('innumerabiles fere manuscripti libri . . . reperiuntur'). In his *Aeschylus* 117 f. Turyn attempted to prove that the MS O, Leiden, *Voss. gr.* Q.A. 4. was the basis of Robortello's text. In 1961 Dawe (Mnem. Ser. 4, 14, 1961, 111 ff.) questioned the theory of Turyn, and arguing from the preface cited above he showed that though there are connections with O, Robortello did not use O but a plurality of sources. As I shall prove below one of these sources was F. It is astonishing that this point has not been seen before because the agreements FRob are so striking and so numerous that there can be no doubt at all. I do not intend to give an exhaustive list; the following selected examples should be enough to settle the point:

Sept. 103 δέδορπα FRob
— 115 πνοαῖσιν FRob
— 521 δὴ *add.* F^{pc} *hab.* Rob.
— 692 θυμός F^{pc}Rob
— 919 ἐτύμως *om.* FRob
— 982 καὶ τὸ τοῦδ' ἐνόσφισεν FRob
— 995 τῆι *add.* F^{pc} *hab.* Rob.
— 997 καὶ om. FRob

It is true that some of these readings are in T as well; but Robortello cannot have derived them from that MS, because he did not know it. It is enough to point out that e.g. *Sept.* 982 can only have come from F.

In the *Persae* I note the following cases:

Pers. 100 ὕπερθεν FRob
— 100 θνατόν *om.* FRob
— 583 κλύουσ' ἄλγος FRob
— 635 τε *add.* FRob

— 640 μοι *om.* FRob
— 962 ἔλιπον FRob
— 963 ἐκ *om.* FRob
— 1073 ἰὼ γοᾶσθ' ἁβροβάται FRob

Again it is true that F is not the only MS to have these readings. Some of them are also in G and T. It might be argued that Robortello at least in the *Persae* used G—though he cannot have derived the Triclinian readings at e.g. *Sept.* 521, 692 and 919 from G, since G in the *Septem* is not affected by these Triclinian readings—but it is surely more economical to suppose that he used F also in this play. And in fact, some of Robortello's readings can only come from F, for instance *Pers.* 100 where F's absurd ὕπερθεν τὸν ἀλύξαντα is the basis of Robortello's ὕπερθεν ἀλύξαντα. Also *Pers.* 583 is an exclusive FRob agreement.

There can be no doubt that besides F Robortello did also use O, first and foremost in the *Prometheus* where only a single FRob agreement can be found, at *Prom.* 954 θεῶν] διός FRob. In my opinion the verdict of Dawe that Robortello did not use O cannot be upheld. Dawe was able to demolish Turyn's view by pointing out some cases where Robortello and O do not agree, but to say that the differences are more numerous than the agreements is surely a mistake. The number of what we on our present evidence take to be exclusive ORob agreements is so large that it is impossible to account for the text in Robortello except by supposing that he used O.

Prom. 21 βροτῶν μορφήν ORob
— 309 μεθάρμοζε ORob
— 350 ὤμοιν ORob
— 470 βροτοῖς ORob
— 682 γῆν ἐκ γῆς ORob
— 684 πόνου ORob
— 741 προοίμια ORob
— 755 μοι] τό ORob
— 781 φράσαι ORob
— 921 αὐτὸς ἐπ' αὐτῶι ORob
— 925 αἰχμὴν τοῦ ORob
— 998 O and Rob agree in the form of this line
Pers. 17 εἰς τό ORob
— 246 ταχ' *om.* ORob

— 249 χαῖαι ORob
— 298 ἄναρχον ORob
— 681 πολλά ORob

On *Prom.* 998 see Dawe, *Collation ad loc.* for the peculiar form of this line in O.

In the rest of the *Persae* no significant agreements can be found; it seems that Robortello here relied on F. From the *Septem* I mention for the record:

159 ὦ φίλτατ' ἄπολλον
161 ἐκ διόθεν
291 ὥσπερ
523 βροτοῖσι καί

Robortello also has a few exclusive agreements with other MSS, notably with I and Ya.

I take it then as proved that Robortello and not Victorius was the first editor to use F. On the other hand Robortello probably obtained his information from Victorius because the Florentine MS was discovered by the assistant of Victorius, Bartolomeo Barbadoro (Victorius, *Variarum Lectionum libri VIII*, XX, 2 cf. M. Dopchie, Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome 37, 1966, 104). As I have pointed out elsewhere, Robortello as late as November 1551 did not know that the *Agamemnon* and the *Choephori* were two distinct plays (cf. GRBS 12, 1971, 105 n. 17); some months later when he edited the poetic text, he made the distinction between the two plays, presumably on the basis of F. Dopchie in the paper mentioned above has shown that Victorius' preparations for his edition must have begun around 1551. It then becomes extremely probable that Robortello used the discovery of Barbadoro, who may have sent the information about F either direct to Robortello or through Victorius.

On the question of Robortello's sources it should be stated that contrary to what has been said by recent editors, Robortello did not use *Laur.* 32, 9 directly. This fallacy has been exposed by Dopchie in the article mentioned above; the valuable paper by A. Carlini, *L'Attivita filologica di Francesco Robortello*, Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti di Udine, Atti 1966-69, Ser. VII, Vol. 7 unfortunately still adheres to the old theory (I wish to thank Prof. G. Arrighetti for his help in procuring this paper which is not available in our libraries).

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROBLEM OF AN EARLIER TRICLINIAN COMMENTARY

In the preceding chapter on the manuscripts I have to a certain extent accepted Turyn's fundamental theory that we have in G, F and E the first recension with metrical commentary by Demetrius Triclinius. Turyn's view has been questioned, in my opinion without sufficient reason, and since the doubts raised by the impugners of Turyn's theory may be thought valid I intend in this chapter to give an account of the discussion of the GFE scholia and subsequently assess their general nature in comparison with similar commentaries.

There is not very much to say about views on the GFE commentary before the appearance of Turyn's book. The question was not debated and it was quite understandable that 19th century scholars did not take much interest in these scholia. The attitude towards the Byzantines and especially towards the scholars of the Palaeologean Era was one of sheer contempt.[1] Moreover, the all too common view that no other MS than M was worth using did not encourage a study of the products of the second Byzantine Renaissance. I have pointed out how ignorant Dindorf was of what he himself edited, so the silence is hardly to be wondered at.[2]

Almost the only scholar to pronounce a critical verdict on our commentary was Friedrich Kuhn in his dissertation of 1892.[3] He

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[1] See e.g. Dindorf, Phil. 21, 1864, 223.

[2] Moriz Schmidt, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Classe 21, 1856, 280 (Wien 1857) denied that the scholia printed by Dindorf were Triclinian because of the difference between these scholia and those published by Schmidt himself from the Vienna apograph of T, Ta = *Phil. gr.* 334 (on this MS see above p. 40). Schmidt's paper made Dindorf change his views, cf. note 13 below.

As an amusing example of the ignorance about these scholia printed by Victorius and taken over by Dindorf I may mention that Victorius' biographer Francesco Nicolai (*Pier Vettori*, Firenze n.d. [1912]) thought that Victorius himself had composed these scholia—and in one way Nicolai may be said to be correct, cf. above p. 24 for an analysis of the Victorius scholia on *Agamemnon*.

[3] *Symbolae ad doctrinae* περὶ διχρόνων *historiam pertinentes*, Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen VI, 3 (Breslau 1892), 101 n. 2.

noticed the discrepancy between the T scholia on *Sept.* 78, 151 and 166 and the scholium printed by Dindorf (= F) on *Sept.* 78 on p. 513 of Dindorf's edition; there are differences not only in the number of cola but also in the description of the structure of the song. The scholium in Dindorf's edition presupposes a monostrophic analysis,[4] while the T scholia regard ll. 78-150 as a monostrophe and ll. 151-180 as two pairs of strophe and antistrophe. Then Kuhn also noticed the differences in technical vocabulary, above all the use of the term διπλῆ which in T always means τὸ σημεῖον τῆς διπλῆς; in the F scholia it is used about a metrical *section*. Therefore Kuhn denied that these scholia could be composed by Triclinius, as had been suspected by Dindorf.

In the main this is where the matter rested until the appearance of Turyn's book on Aeschylus. Most scholars seem to have believed that the MSS F and G had something to do with Triclinius; while some were inclined with Kuhn to reject Triclinius as the author.[5]

Then in 1943 Turyn argued that the MSS F, G and E were derived from the lost MS τ, the first recension of Demetrius Triclinius.[6] I shall not repeat his arguments for such a diagnosis here; suffice it to say that it was based mostly on what was offered in these three MSS in the poetic text of the two plays, the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides*.[7] Turyn found that F and G in these two plays and in the *Persae* were Triclinian [8] and that the GF text of the plays in comparison with the text in T could only be explained as an early attempt by Triclinius. In particular the text and scholia of *Eum.* 923-25 were to Turyn proof of a close and quite definite relationship between FG and T.[9] Though I believe that Turyn was right in this (and it is certainly difficult to explain the GFT evidence at *Eum.* 923-25 on any other theory than Turyn's one must emphasize that his view was based on partial evidence only and thus it was comparatively easy to question his results. In the first place Turyn knew E but having only a short specimen did not use it very much; his knowledge of F also seems to have been very limited,

[4] I have used the term *monostrophic* throughout this study to denote a lyric section not analyzed in strophe(s)/antistrophe(s).

[5] For the Triclinian authorship cf. Blass, *Die Eumeniden des Aischylos* 18; most reviewers accepted Turyn's theory cf. Fraenkel, *Agamemnon* II n. 1.

[6] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 100 ff.

[7] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 109 ff.

[8] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 69 ff. on the *Persae* in F and G; cf. above p. 15 ff.

[9] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 114.

otherwise he could hardly have failed to notice the extraordinary character of that manuscript. Finally he did not emphasize enough the differences between the metrical scholia in GFE and T, differences which if unaccounted for made it too easy to deny his findings, if not explained. In fact it does not seem that Turyn had realized the fundamental difference between GFE and T in the metrical scholia at all. He only remarked that the metrical scholia 'differ between FG and T mainly through additional remarks in T about the final metrical signs'.[10] To illustrate these differences Turyn cited the FGT scholia on *Ag.* 1178 and thus was able to maintain his view, because this is an iambic passage where the only differences are in fact the added παράγραφος and κορωνίς in T. If he had cited parallel scholia on one of the choral songs the result would have been very different. As it is Turyn only stated: 'We easily recognize in the metrical scholia of FG Triclinius' authorship and style, if we compare certified Triclinian scholia on various authors e.g. on Pindar, on Sophocles'.[11]

The uncanny fact is, however, that if we compare the scholia in GFE to these published Triclinian commentaries it would be very hard to argue that they had been composed by the same man. It is possible to prove it, but it is far more difficult than Turyn implied. Only a close analysis of text and scholia can demonstrate that in spite of the vast differences in metrical views and methods of analysis, the GFE scholia and the T scholia must have been written by the same man, Demetrius Triclinius.

As I have said above, the material used by Turyn was adequate in so far as he reached on that basis conclusions which I hold to be true, but not as full as is necessary to settle the point once and for all. The ensuing controversy between Turyn and Eduard Fraenkel, however, was conducted on a still more slender basis. This was no fault of Turyn's—the fault must be laid at Fraenkel's door—but it affected the discussion very much. In fact most of the points raised by Fraenkel were based on insufficient knowledge of the relevant MS-material. To be sure, Fraenkel's objections did some service; he rightly pointed out some weak points in Turyn's arguments, and in particular he directed attention, in a somewhat misguided way, to the differences mentioned above between the

[10] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 110. This is only partially true, cf. below p. 107.
[11] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 112 n. 115.

two sets of commentaries. But I imagine that Fraenkel would never have taken the views he held about F if he had used in full the manuscript evidence of G, F and E.[12]

In the introduction to his edition of the *Agamemnon* Fraenkel set out to show that Turyn's fundamental view of GFE was wrong, but in limiting himself to this single play he only used G and F. What most of all induced Fraenkel to question Turyn's results was stated with admirable frankness on p. 11 f.:

> 'our position would be . . . desperate, if those critics were right who hold that F(G) as well as Tr represents a substantially Triclinian text. In that case all we should have to go on for about three-fourths of the *Agamemnon* would be a text into which, from what we know about Triclinius, we should have to expect that many violent changes had been introduced by that learned and ingenious but extremely reckless doctrinaire'.

Indeed this is a deplorable situation but nevertheless it is true. Though it must be said that the damage done to the text is hardly of the proportion we are entitled to suspect. But even if it is true that our position is desperate we have to see the facts as objectively as possible.

Fraenkel thought that the metrical scholia in GF were Triclinian but maintained that these scholia 'so far from belonging to an earlier recension, are in fact simply an abridged and simplified version, or rather re-arrangement, of Triclinius' metrical commentary'.[13] From a comparison between sch. T on *Ag*. 355 and 367 and sch. F on *Ag*. 355 he deduced that the scholium in F 'is a typical example of the boiling-down of a fairly learned commentary into the bare minimum of notes indispensable for the purposes of a school edition'.[14]

It was shown by Raphael Sealey [15] that it is impossible to regard F as an abridgment of T; there are several instances where F presents scholia where T has none, and in particular it contains

[12] For instance Fraenkel did not explain the evidence of the passage *Eum*. 923-25 which strongly argues against his own theory because he confined his material for discussion to the *Agamemnon*.

[13] Fraenkel, *Agamemnon* I, 16. In taking this view he was preceded by Dindorf, Phil. 20, 1863, 15 and 21, 1864, 224 who changed his opinion, however, as a result of Schmidt's argument, cf. above n. 2.

[14] Fraenkel, *Agamemnon* I, 17.

[15] Classical Quarterly N.S. 5, 1955, 119 ff.

much fuller notes than those in T. Dawe later proved the same to be the case in the *Persae*.[16] The derivation theory breaks down, however, as soon as we realize that the GFE scholia are in direct opposition with T on a very central point of metrical doctrine, namely the strophic responsion. This was also seen by Sealey though he does not seem to have realized the importance of his observation.[17]

Fraenkel also objected to the supposed non-existence in F of references to the colometrical signs, and tried to argue that only on the derivation theory could this absence be explained. F did not take over these elements because his text was not furnished with such signs (the *diple*, the *paragraphos* and the *coronis*). Moreover F added, at the end of each lyric section the number of cola in that section. T, on the other hand, gives this information in the main scholia. Fraenkel found in this difference a special device of the '*editor*' of F: giving the number of cola at the end of the lyric sections was a way of warning the reader of a change; these notes are indeed especially helpful to the reader of F as the scribe often writes lyric cola in such a way that they cannot be distinguished from ordinary iambic lines. But E has the same feature; and E has not been copied from F, nor does the lay-out of E resemble that of F. The practice, therefore, has nothing to do with an *editor* of F, but with the working habits of Triclinius.

Then Fraenkel objected to the use of the note κοινή instead of the Triclinian signs ⌞—— and ——⌝. These signs are attested as a special invention of Triclinius' in his treatise περὶ σημείων τῆς κοινῆς συλλαβῆς.[18] They are not found in F where long syllables are often marked with a dash instead and sometimes κοινή is added over a doubtful case. However the use of κοινή instead of the special signs can be paralleled from Triclinius' own MSS. Turyn has adduced a number of instances from Triclinius' autograph notes in L, *Laur.* 32, 2 of Euripides.[19]

Following Kuhn, Fraenkel also pointed to the difference between F and T in the use of the term διπλῆ. This important question we shall study in detail later; it is enough to say at this point that this certainly is a difficult problem, but one which should be viewed

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[16] Dawe, *The MSS* 45 f.
[17] Sealey, *op. cit.* 121.
[18] For the text of this treatise see Appendix II.
[19] Turyn, *Euripides* 247 with note 232.

in a larger perspective, where an explanation can be found that does not militate against the attribution of the GFE commentary to Triclinius.

Fraenkel postulated that the metrical scholia and a few Triclinian explanatory notes in F had been added from T, after text and non-metrical scholia had been taken from a different source, and a pre-Triclinian one at that. Fraenkel saw proof of the use of two sources by the scribe of F in the fact that on f. 71r (plate II in Fraenkel) lines 3-5 of the 'Triclinian' scholium on *Ag.* 2 ἀστείως εἴρηται, which in F is marked with a cross, have been 'pushed aside from the normal left-hand edge of the scholia column because the earlier scholion διὰ τὸ φυλακτικόν was in their way' (*op. cit.* 27). This is no proof at all, in the first place because the scholium is not Triclinian but old, although the scribe of F had marked it with a cross,[20] in the second place because the interlinear matter in F was written as a rule before the marginal scholia. This has nothing to do with the use of one or more sources, it is simply a question of how this particular scribe worked.

The discrepancies between scholia and text in F would seem more serious, and Fraenkel adduced a very pertinent example from the scholium on *Ag.* 1537 ff. (*op. cit.* 27 f.). The analysis of the GF scholium is a precise description of what we find in T, but the GF text is not in accordance with the scholium. Had Fraenkel known the F scholia on the *Septem* or the *Persae* I am certain that he would never have dreamt of deriving them from T; in the *Agamemnon* it is possible to a certain extent because the T scholia are so little detailed. However, the example mentioned by Fraenkel is interesting because the GF scholium presupposes the interpolation now only known from T of νῦν l. 1540. GF describes the colon

δροίτης κατέχοντα χάμευναν

as acatalectic, while in fact it is catalectic (or a hephthemimer); T is correct because there we find

δροίτης νῦν κατέχοντα χάμευναν.

Either we must suppose—on Turyn's general view—that Triclinius made a blunder in overlooking the catalectic colon in τ, or that G

[20] The scholium on *Ag.* 22 δεῖ διαστήματος has also been marked incorrectly by F with a cross. We should be careful not to put too much emphasis on the markings of scholia in F. The cross is put haphazardly against scholia in the triadic section, cf. above p. 23.

and F did not copy what to the scribes may have appeared a supralinear gloss, the νῦν which was already in τ.[21]

Fraenkel believed that FT went back to the same hyparchetype, which is perfectly correct, but I would identify this hyparchetype with τ. In Fraenkel's view G also goes back to that common source.

I have already mentioned Sealey's objections to Fraenkel's theory which were strong enough to make the derivation theory fall. Independently Zuntz, in his important work on Euripides, was able to use the parallels of L and P of Euripides to demolish the Fraenkel theory. Zuntz rightly pointed out that the work of the scribe of F as envisaged by Fraenkel was so complicated that this alone would cast grave doubts on such a view. F did not copy T, but wrote a revised version of it; he did not copy the metrical signs, but wrote κοινῇ instead. As Zuntz says: 'Fraenkel felt driven to his assumption because the text of FG lacks many of the violent alterations which stand out in Tr'.[22] But still Fraenkel had to accept that the FG text contains metrical interpolations in the lyrics; these he ascribed not to Triclinius, but to a *Triclinius ante Triclinium*, a person about whom we at present have no knowledge at all. Zuntz very pertinently asked: 'Was there, before Triclinius, any Byzantine scholar who altered the text of dramatic lyrics in order to satisfy metrical requirements?'.[23] The answer is most emphatically *no*.

Now the important observation in Zuntz's book is that G, as I mentioned in Chapter I, is in fact contemporary with Triclinius and comes from his scriptorium. Thus there can be no doubt: G, at least, is Triclinian and though some may be reluctant to ascribe F to the same scriptorium, the assumptions of Fraenkel cannot be right. Zuntz hit the nail on the head by pointing to the genesis of G and F as proposed by Fraenkel: 'G cannot be supposed to have furnished (like F but independently) a non-Triclinian text (an identical text) with the same selection of Triclinian variants drawn from Tr; nor could the identical scholia have been independently drawn from Tr and re-worded identically yet independently so as to fit the different presentation of the text in which F and G agree'.[24] If we

[21] I refer to the similar instances elsewhere of metrical scholia in F presupposing a reading or an interpolation now only known from T, cf. e.g. p. 127; cf. also Zuntz, *Inquiry* 211 n.

[22] Zuntz, *Inquiry* 206.

[23] Zuntz, *loc. cit.*

[24] Zuntz, *op. cit.* 207 f.

then take the independent MS E into consideration the result is mere chaos. But in fact the question is solved by the simple fact of G's date of c. 1320 and its origin in the Triclinian scriptorium. G must be older than T and thus the theory of Fraenkel cannot hold good.

In 1959 Dawe showed that the derivation theory breaks down completely outside the *Oresteia*; in particular he demonstrated that the difference between F and T is clearly one of stages of development: 'Where the metrical analyses differ, the account rendered in T is the more expert, and therefore the more mature'.[25] This is a most important point which we shall consider in more detail later.[26]

Turyn himself did not, apart from a few remarks one of which I have already referred to, join the discussion, but simply restated his fundamental view.[27] Nevertheless it may be said today that the Fraenkel theory has proved wrong, and that we may be certain that the commentary in GFE was not derived from T. But we have not so far volunteered any absolute proof that the GFE metrical commentary in τ is the work of Triclinius. Is it at all possible to regard it as composed by somebody else?

In the first place we must be aware that the commentary was composed to accompany the text in τ. And since that text demonstrably was established by Triclinius, the matter would seem to rest there. There cannot possibly be any doubt that the text and scholia in GFE = τ is the antecedent of T. I hope that this point will be made evident in the analysis in the next two chapters if there is still any doubt.

As far as I can see, the impugner of the Triclinian authorship of the GFE commentary would have to suppose that Triclinius took over the commentary modifying it to suit his own text in τ. This is the only way out. On the other hand such an explanation does not meet the relevant objection of Zuntz that we do not know of any Byzantine metrician of sufficient capability. There were metricians before Triclinius, it is true, but none of them used metrical analysis as a critical instrument. What we know of the work of Isaac Tzetzes for example does not inspire much confidence; indeed his metrical knowledge was not employed in that way. In his work on Pindar he

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[25] Dawe, *The MSS* 46.

[26] See p. 70 f.

[27] Cf. *Euripides* 32 n. 49 and especially 252 n. 237; Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni, Firenze 1960, 1013 n. 1.

relied heavily on the old scholia [28] and he does not seem to have tried his hand at the dramatic poets. Moreover, outside Triclinian circles we have no evidence at all of knowledge of the non-triadic plays. As I have argued elsewhere,[29] the only apograph of M made before M came to Italy, the MS *S. Marco 222*, was written in a scriptorium at Thessalonica, probably in the very scriptorium of Triclinius, or at least in a scriptorium connected with that of Triclinius. It might be supposed that someone wrote a commentary on the triadic plays and that Triclinius composed a similar one on the non-triadic plays; Pindar would be a parallel.[30] Here Triclinius *suo Marte* wrote a commentary on the *Pythians* on the basis of his own revision of the existing old and Tzetzean commentaries on the the *Olympians*.[31] But such speculations are not very fruitful; as far as I can see the very fact of G's provenance settles the debate. If we accept Triclinius as the author, all is clear; if we do not, we are left with a set of insoluble problems.

To a certain extent the Triclinian authorship can be supported by internal criteria in the commentary itself. For example, as Dawe pointed out, the phrase εἰ βούλει, which has long ago been recognized as a bona-fide Triclinian idiom, appears in the GFE scholia.[32] One could of course point to the principle διὰ τὸ ἑξῆς,[33] or the view that a monometer + paroemiac is the regular clausula in anapaestic periods [34] and therefore was used to establish the text at such points; still, the differences between the Triclinian practice and terminology in the final commentaries and our GFE scholia would be more numerous than the similarities. In fact the material col-

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[28] Cf. Irigoin, *Les scholies* 58 ff.

[29] *A Note on S. Marco 222 and Laur. 31, 15*, Classica & Mediaevalia 29, 1968 [1972], 16 ff. See also the remarks by Herington, *The Older Scholia* 41 n. 1.

[30] On the Triclinian commentary on Pindar see Irigoin, *Les scholies* 93 ff.

[31] Irigoin, *Les scholies* appendice II prints the scholia Tricliniana on the *Pythians*.

[32] Dawe, *The MSS* 45. For the expression εἰ βούλει cf. Hopfner 33 and see also Holzinger, *Vorstudien* 38. In view of what I said about Hopfner's criteria above p. 37 n. 92 I should emphasize that this criterion seems to be valid enough. Another expression used by Triclinius to indicate an alternative analysis is εἴη δ' ἂν (cf. Holzinger, *Vorstudien* 113), which does not occur in τ but often in T, cf. sch. on *Prom.* 159, 425, *Sept.* 78, 321, *Pers.* 584, 633 and 858. It is also found in the other commentaries cf. e.g. sch. Soph. *El.* 1082.

[33] Cf. p. 163 f.

[34] Cf. p. 157 n. 2.

lected here would perhaps enable the opposer of Turyn's view to combat that view most effectively. This is the point where the defenders of the Triclinian authorship since Turyn have had their weak spot: they have not paid sufficient attention to the great difference between the two recensions. Turyn himself may perhaps have induced subsequent defenders of his view to look elsewhere, because he obviously seemed to find the two sets almost identical apart from the question of the colometrical signs.[35] Only Dawe has tried to account for the difference from an evolutionary standpoint.[36]

The most important of these differences was originally pointed out by Raphael Sealey who noticed the remarkable fact that G and F gave a monostrophic analysis of the section *Ag.* 1448 ff.: εἴσθεσις διπλῆς μονοστρόφους ἔχουσα τὰς περιόδους· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ἀντιστροφάς. On the other hand, from l. 1481 T analysed in terms of strophic responsion. Surprisingly enough at ll. 1560-66 the GF scholium says: ἑτέρα στροφὴ κώλων ὁμοίων τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ζ'· ἔοικε δὲ ἀντιστροφὴ εἶναι τῆς στροφῆς ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἀμηχανῶ· ὅμοια γὰρ ἔχει τὰ κῶλα. There can be no doubt as to the conclusion to be drawn from this: the scholium in GF on *Ag.* 1448 ff. was written at an earlier time than that on *Ag.* 1560-66 and there has been no attempt at removing the contradiction between these scholia. The note on 1560-66 shows a gradual realizing of the true structure of this section, which in T we find elaborated in greater detail.

This case is not the only one. A similar doubt can be found expressed in the scholium on *Ag.* 1072 where we only have the evidence of F. The scholium at the beginning of this section runs:

> εἴσθεσις διπλῆς ἀμοιβαίας τὰς περιόδους <μονοστροφικὰς> καὶ συνεχεῖς ἔχουσα. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν τοῦ χοροῦ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου προσώπου κῶλα ἀντισπαστικά. ἔοικε δὲ ταῦτα στροφῆι καὶ ἀντιστροφῆι καὶ εἰσὶ τῆς μὲν στροφῆς κῶλα β' ὧν τὸ α' ἡμιόλιον τὸ δὲ β' πενθημιμερές, ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς· τὰ αὐτὰ γάρ εἰσι κῶλα.

Now it may be objected that the contradiction is created by the supplement;[37] the supplement is necessary, however, because of

[35] Cf. above p. 57 f.

[36] Dawe, *The MSS* 45 ff. Some of Dawe's statements are not quite exact cf. p. 107 f. In general his view seems to be the only possible way of explaining the evidence.

[37] By Victorius, cf. above p. 24.

καὶ συνεχεῖς. But if this is doubted, the hesitant ἔοικε δὲ ταῦτα discloses the fact that the strophic responsion is recognized only as a possibility. It is surely unnecessary to add that here T takes the structure for granted, without discussion in the scholium on l. 1072.

There are further indications of this reluctant admittance of antistrophically constructed sections. At *Pers.* 249 (f. 54r) the scholium at the beginning of the section only says:

> εἴσθεσις διπλῆς μερικῆς στίχων καὶ κώλων μα'. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν στίχοι τοῦ ὑποκρίτου ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι, τὰ δὲ κῶλα τοῦ χοροῦ ἀντισπαστικά.

However, in the short notes on each part of this section the scholia recognize strophes and antistrophes at ll. 256, 262, 268, 274, 280 and 286. And each time it is stated in the cautious form: ἔοικε δὲ στροφῆι / ἀντιστροφῆι.

Again the scholium on *Sept.* 375-719 in F (f. 35r) says nothing about strophes and antistrophes but only gives the analysis of the section as seven periods with a number of antispastic cola after each period:

> εἴσθεσις διπλῆς καθόλου ἀμοιβαίας περιόδους ἔχουσα καὶ μονοστρόφους ἑπτά, οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην περίοδον τοῦ χοροῦ κῶλά εἰσι ἀντισπαστικά.

The short scholia on the first lyric section ll. 417-21 says (f. 35v): ἔοικε δὲ στροφῆι· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ ἀντίστροφον τὰ κῶλα τὰ ἑξῆς τοῦ χοροῦ.

Then the following lyric parts of the whole scene are analysed according to the principle of strophic responsion; each time we are met with the same formula: ἔοικε δέ (on 452, 481, 521, 563 and 626).

Later in the same play, in the lyric/iambic dialogue between Eteocles and the chorus we find a similar situation. This section has no scholium covering the whole passage 686-708, but only short notes accompanying each part of the dialogue. In the scholia on the strophes we again find the phrase ἔοικε δὲ κτλ., cf. those on 686 and 698. On the antistrophes F has only the note: ἰσόμετρα τοῖς ἄνω.

We have already discussed the instances from the *Agamemnon* and there is but a single instance in the *Eumenides*. At l. 916 the scholium covering 916-1020 in GFE says:

> εἴσθεσις διπλῆς ἐν ἐκθέσει τοῦ δράματος ἀμοιβαίας τὰς περιόδους ἔχουσα. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοῦ χοροῦ κῶλα χοριαμβικά, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου προσώπου ἀναπαιστικά.

In the scholium on 938-947 the same manuscripts have:

> τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ταῦτα κῶλα χοριαμβικά ἐστιν ια' ὅμοια καὶ ἰσόμετρα τοῖς ἄνω. ἔστι δὲ ἀντιστροφὴ τῆς ἄνω στροφῆς.

As we have seen, in the main scholia there is nothing about strophic responsion, but in the short notes on each minor section the principle is recognized. We also notice that the usual ἔοικε is absent; moreover in the strophe we find that the responsion between strophe and antistrophe has been used to correct the strophe, cf. the scholia on 923 and 925. Further in the same section strophic responsion is recognized between 956-67 and 976-87, cf. the scholium on the antistrophe: ἀντιστροφὴ τῆς ἄνω στροφῆς.

We are now in a position to discuss the last instance of antistrophic analysis in GFE. The long scholium on *Sept.* 203-41 (F f. 31v) describes the iambic/lyric dialogue between Eteocles and the chorus in the following way:

> εἴσθεσις συνεχοῦς διπλῆς ἀντιστρόφους (ἀντιστρόφου F) τὰς περιόδους ἔχουσα. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοῦ χοροῦ <κῶλα> ἀντισπαστικά, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ὑποκρίτου ἰαμβικά. εἰσὶν οὖν τὰ τοῦ παρόντος χοροῦ κῶλα ἀντισπαστικὰ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα δ', τὸ δὲ ε' δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἤτοι ἡμιόλιον. δέχονται δὲ καὶ πεντασυλλάβους πόδας καὶ ἑξασυλλάβους. ἔοικε δὲ στροφῇ· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ ἀντίστροφον τὰ ἑξῆς τοῦ χοροῦ κῶλα.

This is the only case in the whole of the GFE commentary of a main scholium operating from the outset with the principle of strophic responsion, though we must notice again the cautious ἔοικε. I have no doubt, then, that the exemplar of F had not ἀντιστρόφους but μονοστρόφους.

It may perhaps have occurred to the reader that all examples of recognition of the principle of antistrophic responsion are found in the same type of context, i.e. iambic (or anapaestic)/lyric dialogue. It would seem that such sections were the easiest for Triclinius to analyse properly; the regular change between iambic lines and lyric stanzas made it easier for him to apply the principle with which he was acquainted from the scholia on Pindar. The choral songs on the other hand are all analysed as monostrophes.

This is an important difference between T and GFE, and will of course make any theory of the derivation of the GFE scholia from T impossible—if it is still necessary to point that out.[38]

Another thing must be emphasized. If I am right on the original reading in the scholium *Sept.* 203 we cannot help noticing that all instances of recognition of the antistrophic responsion occur not in the main scholia, but in the shorter notes analysing each part of the larger section, or *diple*, to use the terminology of the commentary. It is therefore important to be aware of this distinction between main or *long* scholia and what accordingly have been called *short* scholia. The short scholia will thus, it seems, be later than the long scholia, but there can be no doubt that they are to be ascribed to the same author. The reader may perhaps guess where this leads to: what we have in GFE is an edition in the making, the working copy—or to be precise, copies of a stage in the process of Triclinius' editing and commenting. The GFE scholia were copied from a manuscript whose author was still working on the metrical analysis of the plays. This fact, together with the clear testimony of the scholia on *Eum.* 923-25 (for which I refer to p. 152 ff.) admits of no doubt as to the author of the GFE commentary: it must have been Triclinius. Zuntz's work on L in Euripides has shown us a striking parallel to what we have in GFE.

The idea that GFE represent not a final recension but a work in progress has been emphasized by Dawe in his Eranos paper mentioned above. This is a fruitful idea and I think it is possible to go further than Dawe did. He noticed the difference of metrical sophistication between F and T in the *Persae*, and quite correctly pointed to the obvious difference in admittance of the ionic metre in that play in F. However, Dawe was not absolutely accurate on that point; F admits ionics *a minore* [39] *Pers.* 532-97 in the long

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[38] In his discussion of the instances of antistrophic responsion in the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides* Helm on p. 96 suggested that Triclinius may have noticed the identical wording at *Ag.* 1073 ff. and 1076 ff., 1080 ff., *Eum.* 837 ff. and 870 ff. This may be true but will not account for the cases in the *Septem*.

As can be seen from Triclinius' treatise περὶ σημείων he regarded the determination of strophes and antistrophes as his main work, see the text in my Appendix II.

[39] Dawe, *The MSS* 46 asserts that 'F seems afraid of Ionics a minore'. His reason seems to have been the differences in the cola ll. 694-96 where F has anapaests against the T analysis which recognizes ionics in the first two cola.

scholium (f. 60r) at the beginning of the χορός-section as a part of the prosodiac colon: κῶλα χοριαμβικὰ ιδ' ἃ καλεῖται προσοδιακὰ διὰ τὸ ἐκ χοριαμβοῦ καὶ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ' ἐλάσσονος συγκεῖσθαι.[40] Further, in the short scholium 571-73 we have ἰωνικὰ ἡμιόλια β', τὸ δὲ γ' χοριαμβικόν. These cola occur in the section described as choriambic in the long scholium, where we find nothing about ionic hemiolia, only choriambic ones. In the short scholium the colon l. 576 is again labelled an acatalectic prosodiac dimeter, but the only prosodiacs recognized in the long scholium are those at ll. 584-97. Thus we see again the important difference repeated between the long and short scholia; the long scholia containing the more rudimentary analysis, and the short scholia offering details and elaborations which must have been worked out later because they are the more expert notes.

Examples could be multiplied; I have pointed out a number of them in the following chapters. For the purpose with which we are concerned now those just quoted will suffice.

Another important criterion for the Triclinian authorship is provided by the identical way of referring to manuscript authority.[41] The relevant cases are:

Sept. 287 (F f. 33v): On the colometry of this song ll. 287 ff. in F we meet with a scholium referring to the colometry of the old MSS: οὕτως εὑρέθη τὰ κῶλα τοῦ χοροῦ ἐν ἑτέροις παλαιοῖς.

Sept. 722 (F f. 44v): The intruded scholium is proscribed: οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα ἐν ἑτέροις.

Sept. 884 (F f. 45v): Another intruded scholium is marked out for deletion: τοῦτο οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν ἑτέροις παλαιοῖς βιβλίοις.

Pers. 917 (F f. 68r): The readings ζεῦ and μοῖρα are proposed as the correct ones: εὕρηται γὰρ ἔν τινι παλαιῶι οὕτως.

From the numerous parallels in T I am giving a selection to illustrate the similarity.

Sept. 918 (f. 74v): The phrase οὐ φιλογαθὴς ἐτύμως is deleted: οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἔν τινι τῶν παλαιῶν.

Pers. 632 (f. 102r): The reading πέρας is commended for metrical

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[40] The explanation διὰ τὸ ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ' ἐλάσσονος συγκεῖσθαι is very interesting not only because it is most unusual (for the regular explanation, cf. Sch. A Hephaestion 153, 19 Consbr.) but also because this type of prosodiac in the T scholia is noted as Pindaric. Cf. Triclinius on *Or.* 1426, sch. P. *Ol.* III, str. col. β (Abel p. 147, 9).

[41] Cf. Dawe, *The MSS* 40 f.

reasons as well as on MS authority: οὕτω γὰρ εὕρηται καὶ ἔν τινι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων.

Pers. 1025 (f. 115r): The text of this line is defended by its occurrence in an old MS: οὕτως εὑρέθη ὁ στίχος ἔν τινι λίαν παλαιῶι βιβλίωι.[42]

Finally *Prom.* 235 (f. 14r) where a reading is supported by a very old MS: ἔν τινι τῶν ἄγαν παλαιῶν βιβλίων εὕρηται ἐγὼ δὲ τόλμης ἤγουν ἕνεκα τόλμης.

Then again emphasis should be laid on the occasional references to unmetrical readings offered by predecessors; there are a few scholia of this kind in F, which we know so well from T:

Pers. 632 (f. 62r): οἱ γράφοντες πέρσαις εἶποι ἀγνοοῦσιν τὸ μέτρον.[43]

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[42] Cf. the similar note f. 46v in Marc. gr. 483 ταῦτα εὕρηται ἔν τινι παλαιῶι βιβλίωι. This note in the hand of Triclinius was added to an exposition of the critical signs copied in *Marc. gr.* 483 probably by Nicolaus Triclines.

On this important MS, to which we shall have to refer several times in this study, see the descriptions in G. Studemund-R. Schoell, *Anecdota I* 165-68 (and cf. also 89-91); Turyn, *Euripides* 231 n. 213; Irigoin, *Les scholies* 79 ff. (where a report of the watermarks may be found). In addition to the information given by these authorities, according to my observations the MS has been written by six different hands: I. ff. 7r-46r and ff. 64r-67v; II. ff. 46v, 76r-79v and 90r-97v; III. ff. 47r-63v; IV. ff. 68r-75v and 80r-88r; V. ff. 98r-v; VI. ff. 99r-157r.

Of these hands no. II is that of Nicolaus Triclines as was stated by Turyn; I am, however, responsible for the attribution of f. 46v to his hand. The style of scribe I is similar to the style of the main scribe of Cambridge *Nn.* 3. 14 which can be seen on plate III in Turyn's *Euripides* (reproduction of f. 2v). In this connection I may point out that the watermark in the part written by scribe I in *Marc. gr.* 483, Briq. 16014 is not only found, as mentioned by Turyn (*Euripides* 223 n. 202) in L, *Laur*, 32, 2 but also in the *Vat.* 1333 which latter MS was written by the scribe that collaborated on Cambr. *Nn.* 3. 14 (cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 45 and Irigoin, *Les scholies* 80).

Turyn suggested (*Euripides* 231 n. 213) that f. 61v (lower part) and f. 62r-v were in the hand of Triclinius. I cannot agree; this seems to be the scribe of ff. 47r-63v using another pen and a different ink. Similarly Studemund's suggestion that f. 46v has been written by two scribes seems erroneous; as far as I can judge, the whole page is by the same scribe, though I am not certain that it *is* Nicolaus Triclines.

On the composition of the codex I make the observation that ff. 7-46 exhibit the signatures α-δ (on the verso pages 14, 22, 30 and 38) and α-ε (on the recto pages 7, 15, 23, 31 and 39) and this part of the book consists of five quaternions. The remainder of the book does not show such signatures, except that on f. 68r we have ζ and on f. 80r ς (these latter signatures are also mentioned by Irigoin). They cannot pertain to the present state of the MS, so we must conclude that the book is a composite volume uniting different, but contemporary parts. The signatures occur in the parts written by scribe IV and these sections must have been taken out of another manuscript They make up a quaternion (ff. 68-75) and a quinion (ff. 80-89).

[43] On the text of this scholium see p. 213 with note 95.

Pers. 917 (f. 68r): οἱ τὸ μοῖρα ποιοῦντες δοτικὴν ἀγνοοῦσι τὸ μέτρον.
Pers. 1056 (f. 70r): οἱ γράφοντες ὕπερθεν ἀμαθεῖς τῶν μέτρων.

It would be superfluous to cite more than one or two parallels from T; any reader of Triclinian scholia will be familiar with the way of criticizing unmetrical readings:

Pers. 632 (f. 102r): οἱ δὲ πέρσαις γράφοντες ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ μέτρα.
Pers. 776 (f. 106v): οἱ γράφοντες 'Αρταφέρνης κἀνταῦθα τὰ τῶν μέτρων παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦσι.
Pers. 863 (f. 109v): οἱ προστιθέντες . . . ἀμαθεῖς εἰσι τῶν μέτρων.

Finally the critical notes on *Eum.* 923-25 can also be shown to be Triclinian in idiom:

Eum. 923: τοῦτο περισσὸν πρὸς τὸ κῶλον τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς.
Eum. 925: καὶ τοῦτο περισσὸν πρὸς τὸ κῶλον τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς.

In these cases also parallels may seem superfluous but cf. e.g.

Sept. 521 (T f. 61v): περισσὸν γὰρ ὂν τὸ ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ τῆς στροφῆς κῶλον ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ.
Prom. 400 (T f. 19v): περισσὸν ἦν ἐνταῦθα τὸ λειβομένα ῥέος πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κῶλον.

From this evidence I take it as certain that Triclinius is the only possible author of what we find in GFE. The following chapters will deal with differences in text and details of analysis and will show, I hope, why this is the only possible explanation of the ratio between GFE and T.

The only serious problem with which we have to deal now is the general difference in metrical approach, terminology and analysis between τ as represented by GFE and T. A study of these differences will prove useful for our view of Triclinius as a metrician and textual critic. The usual view of him is far too one-sided even after the appearance of Zuntz's book on Triclinius and Euripides.

First of all let us consider the difference in terminology used to describe the single cola. A glance through the scholia on the *Septem* and the *Persae* edited in the appendix will disclose the fact that the number of metra used in the analysis in τ is very limited, and more so in the non-triadic plays, for the text of which I refer to my edition. In these two plays we encounter the following types of metra employed in the analysis in the sections described as χοροί:

anapaests, choriambs, iambs and antispasts. It is true that one will often be in doubt as to whether χορός denotes the chorus as a *dramatis persona* or simply means a choral song. In the description of the choral songs ὁ χορός seems to mean a choral song, while in the dialogue parts χορός in the metrical scholia sometimes means the *dramatis persona*, e.g. *Eum.* 938 τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ταῦτα κῶλα χοριαμβικά ἐστιν ια' and *Ag.* 1448 καὶ εἰσὶ τοῦ μὲν χοροῦ τὰ κῶλα χοριαμβικά, τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου προσώπου ἀναπαιστικά. In the description of the choral songs, however, χορός is just another metrical term like διπλῆ; it means a metrical section, cf. e.g. *Sept.* 78 ὁ παρὼν χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ κώλων ριδ'.

The standard metra used to analyse the choral songs in the two non-triadic plays are as follows. The types of cola are monometers, penthemimers, hephthemimers, catalectic, acatalectic and brachycatalectic dimeters/trimeters. In four cases only hypercatalectic cola are found, all of them in the *Agamemnon*, cf. the scholia on 1119, 1136, 1162 and 1407. We shall return to this in a moment.

Outside the choral songs, the χοροί, we find the same limited variety of cola, apart from a single mention of trochaic cola in the scholium on *Eum.* 1, a brachycatalectic dimeter and a hephthemimer.

In the two triadic plays there is a greater variety of cola; the ionic, trochaic and prosodiac metra are recognized but the main difference consists in the more technical vocabulary. The trochaic cola are described as hephthemimers, periodica or ithyphallica, the anapaestic catalectic dimeter as παροιμιακόν or ἀποθετικόν, the monometer before period-end as παρατέλευτον. We meet with the same types of catalexis, except that hypercatalexis is avoided. Since Triclinius later had nothing—as far as we can tell—against hypercatalectic cola one might be tempted to imagine that the sporadic appearance of this type of catalexis in the *Agamemnon* is due to a later evolution in Triclinius' metrical views. But in many cases we can see that Triclinius deliberately sought to avoid hypercatalectic cola; moreover, since hypercatalexis is not found in the most elaborate parts of τ (the two triadic plays), I am strongly inclined to see the hypercatalectic cola in the *Agamemnon* as indications of the unfinished state of the commentary on that play.

However, it is not so much the limited variety of metrical forms and types of catalexis that is remarkable. The absence of dactylic cola, and the various forms of paeonic cola, epitrites and ionics is of course important, though the most telling feature in τ is not the

low degree of metrical sophistication. What cannot but strike the reader who from an analysis of a choral ode in T comes to read the parallel description in τ, is the fact that τ not only analyses in a much more summary way but also seems to use the terms ἀναπαιστικόν, χοριαμβικόν and ἀντισπαστικόν in a way that cannot be paralleled in T. These labels are used to cover a wider variety of metrical forms in τ than in T.

The least remarkable is the antispastic metre. As is well known this is the standard label of dochmiacs, which metre was not recognized as such by Hephaestion, since he as well as Triclinius scanned all metra except the dactylic by tetrasyllabic divisions. The dochmiac is only mentioned as a variety of the antispast on two occasions in T, *Sept.* 778 (f. 70r) ἀντισπαστικὸν μονόμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἀντισπάστου καὶ συλλαβῆς ὃ καλεῖται δοχμαικὸν πενθημιμερές and *Prom.* 583 (f. 25v) ἀντισπαστικὸν πενθημιμερὲς ὃ καλεῖται δοχμαικόν. So also in Hephaestion 32, 5 f. Consbr. πενθημιμερὲς μὲν τὸ καλούμενον δοχμαικόν, cf. sch. A *ad* 32, 7 ἀντισπαστικὸν πενθημιμερὲς ὃ καλεῖται δοχμιακὸν ποδῶν ἁπλῶν δύο καὶ συλλαβῆς.[44] The use of the antispast is not very different in T but τ admits of forms not recognized in T. As mentioned above τ does not employ paeons which are so often used in T in antispastic cola. Therefore τ will often admit pentasyllabic antispasts to a much higher degree than T. Moreover τ classifies as antispastic a number of cola which in T are called choriambic. In this connection there is an interesting scholium on *Sept.* 203 ff. (F f. 31v) which throws some light on the early metrical practice of Triclinius. In this dialogue between Eteocles and the chorus the lyric cola are labelled antispastic in the long scholium on the section 203-41. There it is pointed out that the choriambs found in these cola should not be regarded as such:

> οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ χορίαμβοι ἐν τάξει[45] ἀλλὰ προστιθεμένης τῆς ἑξῆς συλλαβῆς γίνεται ἀντισπαστικὸν τὸ μέτρον ἐκ πεντασυλλάβου ποδός.

[44] Nigel Wilson (Gnomon 38, 1966, 336) suggested that Triclinius' recognition of dochmiacs might be used as a relative chronological criterion. I doubt this, mainly because Triclinius' references to dochmiacs are clearly meant as terminological alternatives. He never clearly understood the dochmiac metre because of his—and Hephaestion's—doctrine of tetrasyllabic feet. For the chronology of Triclinius' final editons cf. Excursus A to Chapter I.

[45] The term ἐν τάξει does not seem to be employed in Hephaestion; this authority, however, uses e.g. τάξις p. 57, 20 Consbr. and ἀταξία p. 57, 13 Consbr. (cf. Tzetzes *de metris Pindaricis* 111, 19, sch. T Pind. 385, 3 Abel). This use of τάξις can perhaps be paralleled from sch. T *Pers.* 532 (Massa

Thus τ regards as a brachycatalectic trimeter the colon

ὦ φίλον Οἰδίπου τέκος ἔδεισ' ἀκοὺ | |

analysing –⏑⏑–⏑/–⏑⏑⏑–/⏑–. In T we find pentasyllabic antispasts though not of this type; but it is a rule in T that where τ analyses –⏑⏑–⏑ or –⏑⏑–– as antispasts, T returns to a choriambic analysis of the usual tetrasyllabic kind. Further, τ freely admits hexasyllabic antispasts of the most irregular types; for example the colon *Sept.* 207

πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν

is called a hemiolion which implies the analysis ⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑/––, while T regards the colon as consisting of a pentasyllabic choriamb and an anapaest (probably only a slip for a bacchius). In T the possibility of resolving the long elements is always recognized, so that theoretically a pentasyllabic or a hexasyllabic antispast is admitted (⏑⏑⏑–⏑ or ⏑–⏑⏑⏑ or ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑).[46] The antispasts in τ rather remind one of the variants mentioned in Choeroboscus' scholia on Hephaestion p. 238 Consb. After having mentioned the doctrine that the first foot may be resolved into the four forms of a disyllabic sequence, Choeroboscus adds that since the first foot may be viewed as a spondee, it may be resolved into a dactyl or an anapaest. This view cannot be found in Hephaestion and we find it denounced as ἀγνωσία in Tzetzes' treatise περὶ μέτρων Cramer, *An. Ox.* III 312, 23 ff. I think that there can be no doubt as to the connection between the view propounded by Choeroboscus and what we find in the early Triclinian commentary. As is well known, the scholia on Hephaestion by Choeroboscus are among the metrical texts studied by Triclinius in *Ven. Marc.* 483.[47] At any rate, apart from the question of the origin of this analysis, we find in τ practi-

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Positano 47, 27) where he says that we have the anapaestic system 532-47 ἐν τάξει προῳδοῦ and cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 784; Triclinius says that these cola were written ἀτάκτως and ἀναρμόστως in the MSS, καὶ πολύν μοι παρέσχον πόνον εἰς τάξιν ταῦτα καὶ ἁρμονίαν μετενεγκεῖν.

[46] Pentasyllabic antispasts are found in the final Triclinian commentaries on Sophocles (sch. *El.* 1239, 1384 *O.R.* 151 (Longo 270, 29)) and on Pindar (sch. *Pyth.* 5 ep. col. 10), but then it is always the result of a resolved long element in the regular antispast ⏑––⏑, cf. sch. Pind. *Pyth.* 5 ep. col. 10 διαλύονται γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ μακραί. At sch. Soph. *O.R.* 1313 (Longo 281, 28) a hexasyllabic antispast is recognized.

[47] *Euripides* 231 n. 213; cf. also Irigoin, *Les scholies* 79-84. Cf. n. 42 above.

cally every form of pentasyllabic and hexasyllabic combination: ⏑–⏑⏑–, ⏑–⏑⏑⏑, ⏑⏑–⏑–, ⏑⏑–––, ⏑⏑––⏑, ⏑⏑⏑–⏑, ⏑⏑⏑––, ⏑⏑⏑⏑–, –⏑⏑⏑⏑, –⏑––⏑, –⏑⏑––, –⏑⏑–⏑, –⏑⏑⏑–, ––⏑⏑⏑, ––⏑⏑–, –⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑, –⏑⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑, ⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏑, ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑, besides the regular Hephaestionean resolutions. Of the non-regular types only ⏑⏑⏑–⏑ and ⏑–⏑⏑⏑ would be acceptable to the theory employed in T.

In another scholium on the *Septem*, on the choral stanzas in the Spy scene ll. 417 ff. the choriambic analysis is again repudiated (F f. 35v): ἴσθι ὅτι οἱ χορίαμβοι οὐκ ἐν τάξει αὐτῶν κεῖνται ἀλλὰ προστιθεμένης καὶ ἑτέρας συλλαβῆς γίνονται πεντασύλλαβοι καὶ ἀποτελοῦσι ἐπιτρίτους ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ λοιποί (i.e. the following choral stanzas).

What this probably means is that the addition of a syllable produces a pentasyllabic epitrite –⏑⏑–⏑. This happens not in the first pair on which the scholium is written but in the following pair ll. 481-85 = 521-25 since there are no 'choriambs' in ll. 417-21 = 452-55. The pentasyllabic epitrite is not, it seems, expressly recognized in Hephaestion but in T we find it mentioned on two occasions at *Sept.* 155 and 212.[48]

The treatment of the choriambic metre in τ should be seen in connection with the use of the term χοριαμβικά in L of Euripides, *Laur.* 32, 2.[49] In his book p. 10 n. † Zuntz drew attention to the

[48] This other case that I have found in the scholia seems doubtful, cf. p. 117 on *Sept.* 212.

[49] On this MS, see above all Turyn, *Euripides* 222 and Zuntz, *Inquiry, passim.* I have no particular wish to enter into the discussion of the relation between L and P; as far as I can judge, the matter has been settled by Zuntz in the study just quoted. But perhaps it would be advisable to state my position clearly in this connection, since André Tuilier in his *Recherches critiques* 187 ff. has advanced some wholly untenable opinions even on points settled by Turyn and Zuntz. In the first place I should emphasize that Zuntz's basic conclusion 'P a copy of L in the unannotated plays' cannot be dismissed as easily as Tuilier would have us believe (*op. cit.* 197 ff.), on the basis of a few instances of seemingly black alterations in L not appearing in P. The sheer weight of the numbers of instances adduced by Zuntz cannot be brushed aside in this way by Tuilier. Moreover Tuilier does not at all discuss the problem of the colometrical alterations in P (cf. the telling case at *I.T.* 1103 ff. adduced by me p. 79); neither does he mention the equally important problem of the *Metrica* in P. Both these features in P are inexplicable on Tuilier's hypothesis; on Zuntz's view they can be accounted for. In short I accept Zuntz's basic conclusion as fact.

Moreover, something should be said on the genesis of L. Tuilier is incredibly untrustworthy here. For example he asserts (*op. cit.* 207) that 'l'initiative de la copie de L. . . doit être attribuée sans contredit à l'entourage de Thomas Magister'. For such speculation we have absolutely no evidence, and what

peculiar fact that most of the lyric sections in L were described by T[1] or T[2], that is Triclinius in his first and second term of work on L, as χοριαμβικά. Zuntz suggested that by this term Triclinius seemed to mean simply a 'choral passage'. This cannot be true, I think, but first let us look at τ.

In τ the term χοριαμβικά is used to describe a great variety of metra most of which have nothing to do with choriambics. It goes without saying that we find nothing of this sort in T. There, χοριαμβικόν retains its Hephaestionean meaning, whereas in τ χοριαμβικά is the standard label of iambo-trochaic cola; and in a few cases dochmiacs are so described. The simple trochaic cola in the *Eumenides* are labelled χοριαμβικά, for instance in the scholia on 321, 916, 938, 956, 976, 996-1002 and 1014-1020. Then at *Pers.* 548-83 χοριαμβικά is used about the iambo-cretic cola; similarly the mainly iambic cola *Ag.* 367 ff. are also described as χοριαμβικά. The dochmiacs *Ag.* 1448 ff. and 1468 ff., contrary to the usual practice in τ (and T), are not called antispastic but χοριαμβικά.

This very broad use of the term finds a parallel in L. Almost every lyric passage in this MS is described as χοριαμβικά; Zuntz's idea, however, that this term simply means a choral passage cannot be valid, for there are several instances of ἀντισπαστικά undoubtedly in the hand of T[1], e.g. *Hel.* 515 (f. 109r), *Rhes.* 692 (f. 123v), *Med.* 1251 (f. 175r) (cf. Zuntz 37), *Alc.* 872 ff. (f. 182r), *El.* 1147 (f. 199v). We should also note the appearance of lyric passages described as

evidence we have flatly contradicts Tuilier's statement. In his n. 3 *ibid.* he explains without any argument that 'La copie des vingts pièces a sans doutes été exécutée directement sous l'autorité de Thomas Magister'. He also advances the incredible statement that 'Il n'est pas interdit de penser que Triclinius jeune a pu copier lui-même certaines parties de Laurentianus XXXII-2' (*op. cit.* 192 n. 7). This assertion is based on no better evidence than Koster's faulty analysis of *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 (on which see below n. 80) from which Tuilier obviously draws the conclusion that the *ductus* of Triclinius was so variable as to allow almost any *ductus* to be attributed to him. Finally, Triclinius' critical work on L is on p. 190 ff. dated from c. 1320-25 (the earliest stage) to c. after 1330 (the latest stage), in spite of Turyn's cogent arguments from the shape of the breathings in L. Turyn, *Euripides* 257 f. observed that Triclinius' writing in L nowhere exhibits angular breathings and that it therefore must be attributed to a period earlier than c. 1319 (cf. on this criterion p. 43 above). On a single point, that of the watermarks in L, Tuilier may be right (*op. cit.* 188 n. 1). But his correction of Turyn has no important bearing on the date of L. This MS, for all practical purposes, should be dated around 1310 and nothing prevents us from believing that Triclinius immediately after its completion set to work on it. For a further addition to Turyn's report of the watermarks in L cf. n. 70 below.

ἰαμβικά τροχαικά *Hel.* 625 (f. 110r),[50] τροχαικά ἀναπαιστικά ἰαμβικά *Ion* 886 (f. 130v) and finally the passages labelled τροχαικά *Rhes.* 674 (f. 123r), *Ion* 1445 (f. 136r), *Hipp.* 61 (f. 157r), 669 (f. 161r). This is what we find in the hand of T^1 on the lyric passages. Zuntz, however, has adduced a further instance, *Cycl.* 495 (f. 87v) where we find ἀνακρεόντεια, but as far as I can see this note has replaced an earlier one even if the note to be read now is by T^1; further, the note ἰωνικά on *Suppl.* 42 (f. 68r) is again a later addition, even if the *ductus* is that of T^1. At any rate the variety of metrical labels at the T^1 stage is the same as that found in τ where χοριαμβικά, ἀντισπαστικά and ἀναπαιστικά cover most of the non-stichic passages.

On the other hand we also find the usual Hephaestionean employment of the label χοριαμβικόν i.e. denoting the metron –⏑⏑–. At *Sept.* 927 we have the scholium

> τὰ μὲν β′ ὅμοια δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ γ′ χοριαμβικὸν ἐφθημιμερές, τὰ ἑξῆς β′ κτλ.

where χοριαμβικὸν ἐφθημιμερές is used about the colon 928 f.

> τεκνογόνοι κέκληνται

The colon –⏑⏑–⏑–– is e.g. at *Sept.* 485, 525, 567 and 630 called an *antispastic* hemiolion. The same ambiguity can be seen in L. Zuntz drew attention to the fact that at *I.A.* 1627 (f. 154r) the note χοριαμβικά (T^1) τὰ β′, τὸ δὲ βον ἰωνικόν ἡμιόλιον (*add.* T^2) [51] implied χοριαμβικά used to denote a particular metre, and the cola described there are in fact choriambic in Hephaestionean-Triclinian theory and practice. A growing sophistication can be seen in the dealings of T^2 with the T^1 metrical notes. In some cases the T^1 note χοριαμβικά was deleted by T^2; Zuntz has mentioned some of these cases, but it will be necessary to present the whole material.

The significant cases *I.T.* 123 and 143 are a good beginning. Both of these are adduced by Zuntz on p. 12 and he suggests that Triclinius erased the former (T^1) notes to gain room for a more detailed analysis. I do not think this explanation correct; the reason must be that T^2 employed the term χοριαμβικά in a more restricted sense than T^1, and in some cases deleted the earlier note because the description did not fit with the T^2 idea of what χοριαμβικά meant. Thus at *I.T.* 123 and 143 Triclinius at first wrote χοριαμβικά

[50] I venture thus to interpret the notes in L against Zuntz, *Inquiry* 214.
[51] Zuntz, *Inquiry* 10 n. †.

(and these notes are now only extant in P; they have been completely erased in L) but later, when at the second stage of his work, he erased these notes and wrote instead on *I.T.* 123 (f. 135r) δακτυλικά ἀναπαιστικά τροχαικά, and on *I.T.* 143 (*ibid.*) δακτυλικά ἀναπαιστικά χοριαμβικά ἰωνικά. Again at *Cycl.* 356 (f. 86v) χοριαμβικά seems to have been the T[1] note, later deleted by T[2] and replaced by ἀντισπαστικά ἰαμβικά δακτυλικά τροχαικά ἀναπαιστικά. Further, *Rhes.* 131 ff. (f. 120r) was described by T[1] as χοριαμβικά, which note again was erased by T[2] who wrote instead παιωνικὰ καὶ χοριαμβικά.

The remaining cases are:

Hcld. 75 (f. 89v) χοριαμβικά T[1] τροχαικά [. . . . .] καὶ ἰαμβικὰ καὶ ἀναπαιστικά T[2]

Suppl. 271 (f. 69v) χοριαμβικά T[1] δακτυλικοὶ ἑξάμετροι T[3]

Andr. 117 (f. 185r) χοριαμβικά T[1] δακτυλικά ἀναπαιστικά καὶ τροχαικὰ καὶ ἰαμβικά T[2]

On the other hand there are several instances where Triclinius at the second stage simply adds specifications to his earlier notes, and very many other places where he lets the earlier note remain, in spite of its incongruity. We must allow for the fact that L is a working copy and therefore contains illogicalities and contradictions of every sort, although there are places where Triclinius corrected his earlier mistakes and false analyses. The above cases of the deleted note χοριαμβικά neatly illustrate this point. Here Triclinius saw that χοριαμβικά in the broadest sense was wrong; he deleted the notes, but as appears from *Rhes.* 131 ff. and *I.T.* 143 he now found real choriambic cola of the Hephaestionean type and proceeded to write χοριαμβικά again but in an altered sense.

We must dwell for a moment on the character of the metrical notes in L. For these short remarks on the metrical structure of the plays will tell us what to expect in such working copies. The extreme unevenness of these notes has a good parallel in the work in τ. Some plays in L have received more attention than others; for example the *Rhesus* abounds with additions by T[2] and T[3]. In this play we also find the note σύστημα on *Rhes.* 538 ff. (f. 122v), which note only recurs, as far as I can see, at *El.* 866 and 880 (f. 197v). Compare the numerous additions on the *Rhesus* with the bare annotation on the *Medea*; in this latter play I can see no traces of metrical notes by T[2]. The general explanations by T[1] have

been left without any additions by T^2, and T^3 has only added a few notes ὅμοια τοῖς ἄνω at 148, 173, 180 and 204 (f. 167v-168r) besides some details at 1271 ff. In the *Rhesus*, on the other hand, not a single occurrence of the T^1 note χοριαμβικά has been left alone. Everywhere additions have been made; there can be no doubt that Triclinius spent more time on this play than on the *Medea*, though we cannot say why he found the *Rhesus* more worthy of his close attention. The *Hippolytus* does not seem to contain anything by T^2; the analysis of this play in L remains as it was made by T^1, except for a few remarks παρατέλευτον (f. 158r) on 174 and (f. 158v) on 265. Then we must also point out that Triclinius in many cases did not alter his metrical summaries at the beginning of the lyrical sections, even if they did not fit the cola he singled out on later (or even the same) occasions. For instance at *Bacch.* 519 ff. we find the analysis ἰωνικὰ καὶ χοριαμβικά by T^2 and καὶ τροχαικά by T^3 [52] but at l. 594 T^3 writes the note δακτυλικά though there is nothing about dactylic cola in the summary at the beginning of the section. A little later at 597 we have the T^3 note ἀναπαιστικά; and again these cola are not mentioned in the summary. Another case: the lyric section *Hel.* 330-85 is analysed by T^1 on f. 108r as ἰαμβικά τροχαικὰ καὶ ἀναπαιστικά. Nonetheless T^3 found dactylic cola at l. 375 but did not add δακτυλικά in the summary. The same situation exists at *Rhes.* 895 ff. (f. 124v): T^1 has ἀναπαιστικά and later T^3 found that l. 897 was τροχαικόν but even in this play ἀναπαιστικά is the label for the whole section.

In another respect the study of Triclinius' work in L is also relevant for the analysis of the work on Aeschylus. It would seem, to judge from Zuntz's book, that only at the last stage of his work on L did Triclinius succeed in analysing the choral songs according to the principle of strophic responsion; [53] and there are still colometrical corrections by T^1 and T^2. This situation is the same as that found in τ in the choral songs. There Triclinius makes colometrical

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[52] Zuntz, *Inquiry* 114 n.‡ says that καὶ τροχαικά is an addition on f. 80r at *Bacch.* 570; there is no such note on *Bacch.* 570 on f. 80r, so I suspect that he is speaking about the addition mentioned by me here, on f. 79v at *Bacch.* 519 ff. Incidentally Zuntz 114 also draws attention to the less thorough treatment of this play.

[53] Cf. Zuntz, *Inquiry* 71: "At this third stage Triclinius. . . indicated the strophes and antistrophes by the usual notes"; p. 75 on *Suppl.* 778 ff.: the notes στρ(οφή) and ἀντιστρ(οφή) are by T^3; cf. also p. 77 on *Suppl.* 955 ff.

corrections but antistrophic responsion cannot have been the object. Rather he was, as we shall see, bent upon restoring cola that would fit in with his metrical analysis.

Since I have only had access to L in microfilm I shall base my treatment on the data offered by Zuntz. This pertains especially to the colour of the ink; it is of course impossible to verify Zuntz's findings on the basis of a microfilm.

A good example of a colometrical correction by T^1 appears in L at *I.T.* 1103 ff. (f. 142r), cf. Zuntz 24 f. and my plate 10. Originally L had the colometry

λίμναν θ' εἱλίσσουσαν ὕδωρ
κύκνειον
ἔνθα κύκνος μελῳδὸς
μούσας θεραπεύει

At first Triclinius erased ὕδωρ and transposed it to the following colon—and the result is seen in P:

λίμναν θ' εἱλίσσουσαν
ὕδωρ κύκνειον
ἔνθα κύκνος μελῳδὸς κτλ.

There can be no doubt as to the character of this colometrical correction; it has nothing whatever to do with antistrophic responsion since it in no way can have been made to effect responsion with the antistrophe ll. 1120 ff.[54] Rather it was meant to mend a deficient colon: the word κύκνειον alone could not make up a colon since it is only composed of three syllables and Triclinius would want at least four. The result is a penthemimer; and not until the final stage of his work in L did he find fault with this arrangement. On this later occasion he effected responsion by rewriting ὕδωρ where L originally had the word and by transposing κύκνειον to the next colon.

Another early correction—this time a real textual correction, not just a colometrical one—is found at *Hel.* 218 (f. 107r), cf. Zuntz 43. L originally read

τίνα δὲ βίον οὐκ ἔτλας

[54] Zuntz, *Inquiry* 24 seems to think that at that time Triclinius was already seeking to effect responsion; there are no reasons at all for so thinking.

and Triclinius wrote βίοτον instead of βίον. The reason is not far to seek; he noticed the row of trochaic cola 215-18 and in order to make all these four cola of the same type, i.e. hephthemimers, he corrected βίον into βίοτον. (For this emendation cf. Triclinius on Pind. *Isth.* VIII, 15 where he corrected βίοτον into βίον). This type of correction is common in τ. I therefore doubt Zuntz's statement that βίοτον was meant to correspond with ὄνομα l. 199; βίοτον is also in P and thus this reading belongs to the earliest stage of Triclinius' work, a stage where he had not yet discovered the real structure of the choral songs.

More examples can be found in Zuntz's book. My only purpose is to illustrate the types of correction which we are likely to meet with in Triclinius' early work.

The case of L clearly shows that there is no reason to judge Triclinius solely on the basis of his mature work; a metrical commentary by Triclinius need not necessarily be of the character known from the Naples MS of Aeschylus, the two representatives of his Sophocles or the two MSS of his final Aristophanes.[55] We have in L found parallels for the degree of metrical sophistication in τ, the unevenness in metrical analysis, the contradictions and omissions inherent in a working exemplar and last, but not least, evidence of the fact that metrical and colometrical correction occur in choral odes even without an analysis into strophes and antistrophes. The fact that Triclinius only gradually succeeded in an

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[55] In this connection it will be relevant to point out that we also have a few metrical notes in L on Sophocles, *Ajax* f. 3r (cf. Zuntz, Inquiry 127 n.†); these notes have *not* been written by Triclinius himself and must therefore have been already in the exemplar of the Sophocles part of L—and we thus have proof that Triclinius worked on that exemplar, a fact that should be kept in mind when discussing Turyn's theory of a second Thoman recension of Sophocles, cf. p. 132 n. 20. As far as I can see the scribe of these notes may have been Nicolaus Triclines, the scribe of ff. 119-154 in L. I give the notes here in full:

176 ἢ πού τινος νίκας ἀκάρπωτον χάριν] ἰαμβικά.
182 οὔποτε γὰρ φρενόθεν γ' ἐπ' ἀρίστερα] δακτυλικὸν τετράμετρον.
183 παῖ τελαμῶνος ἔβας] [δακτυλι]κὸν [πε]νθη[μι]με[ρέ]ς.
184 τόσσον ἐν ποίμναισι πίτνων] ἀναπαιστικόν.
192 ἄλλ' ἄνα ἐκ ἑδράνων] [δα]κτυ[λι]κόν.
195 ἄταν οὐρανίαν φλέγων] τροχαικόν.
196 ἐχθρῶν δ' ὕβρις ὧδ' ἀτάρβητα] ἀναπαιστικόν.
199 πάντων καγχαζόντων γλώσσαις] δακτυλικόν.
202 f. χθονίων . . . στοναχάς] [ἀν]α[παισ]τικόν.

Sch. 182 is the most important of these notes because it testifies to the monopodic measure of dactyls. On this question cf. p. 102.

analysis κατὰ σχέσιν is of vital importance to our study of τ, since the situation here is similar: τ represents so to speak an intermediate stage between T² and T³ in L, in that Triclinius in some places in τ recognizes strophes and antistrophes—namely in the iambic/lyric dialogue—and in some places, the choral odes, does not.

Triclinian commentaries without recognition of that celebrated principle will perhaps be thought to be something of a contradiction in terms; still I think they exist in two manuscripts of Euripides, Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, *Fondo Parmense* 154 and Modena, Biblioteca Estense α.U.9.22.[56] Attention to these manuscripts was

[56] The MS *Vat. gr.* 51 regarded by Turyn, *Euripides* 100 f. as an important representative of the second Thoman recension of Euripides, contains metrical notes on the *Orestes* and the *Phoenissae*, not mentioned by Turyn. On the date of this MS, formerly assigned to the 14th century, I can now add substantial details thanks to the courtesy of Msgr. Paul Canart who has given me the following report on the watermarks:
'1° (ff. 1-15) lettre R (p. ex. ff. 3 + 4); lettre à traits simples, vergeure fine; pour le dessin cf. M(ošin-Traljić) 5499; premier quart du XIVe siècle.
2° (ff. 16-47) hache (filigr. le plus fréquent, p. ex. ff. 16 + 25, 28 + 31 etc.): probablement identique à M 4610 (= Briquet 7484): Torcello 1322-23; férule (ff. 17 + 24): cf. M 3818-3828: années 1317-27; lettre A (ff. 43 + 44): proche, mais un peu différent de M 5093 (= Briquet 7926): 1324 (à remarquer que le format de ce papier est plus grand que celui des autres feuilles, car le dessin n'est pas à sa place normale).
3° (ff. 48-103) croix grecque (p. ex. ff. 48 + 55, 59 + 60 etc.); vergeure fine; cf. M 3518-3524 (surtout 3518 pour le dessin): 1292-1327.
Compte tenu surtout de la hache, le ms me semble à situer dans les années 1320-25'.
On the *Orestes* there is a single note on f. 62v (*Or.* 1554) ἰαμβικοί. There are several on the *Phoenissae*:

Phoen.	1	(f. 67v)	ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετοι ἀκατάληκτοι.
—	690	(f. 81v)	ἰαμβικοί.
—	834	(f. 84v)	ἰαμβικοί.
—	1067	(f. 89v)	ἰαμβικοί.
—	1308	(f. 94v)	τροχαικοί.
—	1310	(f. 94v)	ἰαμβικοί.
—	1335-39	(f. 95v)	τροχαικοί.
—	1342-46	(f. 95v)	ἰαμβικοί.
—	1347-49	(f. 95v)	ἴαμβοι.
—	1352	(f. 95v)	ἰαμβικοί.
—	1765	(f. 103v)	ἀναπαιστικὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ὅμοιον.

These notes have been entered by the main scribe. We must therefore conclude as in the case of the notes on Sophocles in L that the main scribe copied the notes from an exemplar corrected or revised by Triclinius. Mr. Schartau who has been of great help on the problem of this MS tells me that with regard to the scholia *Vat. gr.* 51 is a highly selective copy, and thus the latter possibility gains in strength. It is obvious from the note on *Phoen.* 1765 (f. 103v) that something was omitted by the main scribe, for what does ὅμοιον refer to?

first drawn by Turyn, who also gave a summary description and an analysis of their contents. In order to present my case I shall have to go into some detail on these two representatives of what I take to be the earliest running metrical commentary on the Euripidean triad by Triclinius.

First a description of the manuscripts:

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, *Fondo Parmense* 154 *olim* H.H. IX.23 [57] is a paper manuscript of the 14th century measuring 226 × 144 mm. and consisting of 114 leaves. The scribe writes 20 lines to a page for the poetic text.

Contents: f. 2v *Vita*, f. 2v *arg. Hec.*, ff. 3r-32v *Hecuba* with scholia, f. 33r *arg. Or.*, ff. 33r-73r *Orestes* with scholia, f. 73v *arg. Phoen.*, ff. 74r-114v *Phoenissae* with scholia.

On f. 2r there is a note of ownership (deleted by a later hand): *Nicolai Michelotij Florentini liber.*[58]

In his catalogue Martini gave the date of this MS as the 14th century. Turyn repeated this but neither he nor Martini gave any reason for the date. A clue can be found in the fact that the scribe of this MS is identical with that of the Paris Aristophanes *Par. gr.* 2821 (on this MS see below p. 95 f.). As far as I know this has never been stated before; yet there can hardly be any doubt [59] and since *Par.* 2821 can be assigned to the middle of the 14th cent. (cf. below p. 96) the same date should be given to our Parma MS. I shall later return to the inferences to be deduced from the fact that both these manuscripts are by the same hand.

Modena, Biblioteca Estense *cod.* α.U.9.22 *olim* III.C.14, nr. 93 Puntoni (for earlier descriptions and literature see Turyn, *Euripides* 202 f.) is a paper MS of the 15th century, so dated from the watermarks Briq. 2946 (= 1435) and 11730, 11731 (= 1429-30 and 1436 respectively).[60] It consists of 213 leaves measuring 228 × 165 mm. and is written with 29 lines to a page in the Euripides part. The book is a composite volume containing the following texts:

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[57] See Turyn, *Euripides* 149 f. and E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane* I, 1 (Milano 1893) 175 ff.

[58] On Nicolaus Michelotius (1447-c. 1527) the secretary of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Macchiavelli's successor as Chancellor of Florence cf. Cosenza s.v.

[59] See plates 6 and 7.

[60] I owe the details of the watermarks to the courtesy of Prof. Koster.

I. ff. 1r-9v Exegetic scholia on Euripides, *Hecuba*, ff. 9v-16r *Orestes*, ff. 16r-19v *Phoenissae.*
II. Exegetic scholia on Aristophanes, *Plutus* ff. 19v-36v, *Nubes* ff. 36v-52v, *Ranae* ff. 52v-72r.
III. Anon. περὶ κωμῳδίας ff. 73r-77v.
IV. Metrical scholia on Euripides, *Hecuba* ff. 81r-85v, *Orestes* ff. 85v-92v, *Phoenissae* ff. 92v-99r.
V. Metrical scholia on Aristophanes, *Plutus* ff. 99r-100r, *Nubes* ff. 100r-105v, *Ranae* ff. 105v-111r.
VI. Scholia on *Odyssey* ff. 113-159r, 161r-169r, *Iliad* ff. 177r-188r.
VII. Epigrams from *Anthol. Pal.*: XVI, 151 and IX, 357.
VIII. Anon. *de diversis proprietatibus* ff. 195r-205r.
IX. Anon. *Prolegomena in Theocritum* ff. 206-210v.[61]

I have only seen ff. 1-111 (in microfilm) of this MS and am therefore not in a position to say whether there are more than two hands. The entire section ff. 1-111 is the work of one scribe with occasional notes by the former owner Giorgio Valla (I have compared the notes in the MS with the specimen published by Allen in *Miscellanea Francisco Ehrle* Vol. IV (= Studi e Testi 40), Roma 1923, 32 from *Est.* III.E.11 (Puntoni 164). According to Immisch [62] the pages ff. 206r-210v are written by Valla. The data furnished by Puntoni cannot be correct; he gives ff. 73r-74v as written by a later scribe while ff. 1-111 are, as I have stated, written entirely by one hand. The identity of this hand is unknown, but there can be no doubt that here we have a professional Greek scribe (for a specimen see plate 8). According to Turyn [63] the same hand is found in the MS of Triclinian scholia on Sophocles *Est.* α.Q.5.20 (*gr.* 87 Puntoni). Both MSS α.Q.5.20 and α.U.9.22 are of the same size and have the same number of lines to a page; Turyn therefore plausibly suggested that they once made up a single volume. But when Janus Lascaris visited the Valla library late in the 15th century he

[61] On the Theocritean part cf. C. Wendel, *Ueberlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien* 9-16 and 186.
[62] Cited by Kayser, *De veterum arte poetica quaestiones selectae*, Diss. Leipzig 1906, 55.
[63] *Euripides* 203. On the Sophocles MS see Turyn, *Sophocles* 81 and Aubreton 61; the latter gives the watermarks 62 n. 1: ff. 1-127 var. Briq. 4708 (Bologna 1413); in the remaining folios Briq. 11722 or 11727 (Venice 1413 or 1479), Briq. 8442 (Pistoia 1470-72). If these watermarks are correct, originally folios 1-127 must have made up a separate volume.

recorded these two MSS separately;[64] moreover, it seems to have been the habit of Valla to write his entry of ownership both at the beginning and at the end of his MSS and in α.U.9.22 we find the usual entry Γεωργίου τοῦ βάλλα ἐστὶ τὸ βιβλίον on f. 190v, wherefore α.U.9.22 must have been a separate volume at least when it came into his possession. Perhaps the book was actually made for him? The date, however, of the watermarks would seem to be against such a hypothesis. Similarly the Sophocles MS carries the entries on f. IIb and on f. 181v. The question then presents itself as to whether the original volume α.U.9.22 only consisted of ff. 1-190 marked out by the entries? Without access to the MS I cannot answer this question but it seems likely that ff. 191 ff. are a later addition possibly by Valla himself after the acquisition of the book.

Before discussing the relation between the two MSS I wish to exclude a copy of the Modena MS from discussion. This is the Cambridge MS University Library *Dd.* 11.70 (cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 204 f.) which contains on ff. 26r-48v exegetic and metrical scholia on the Euripidean triad agreeing almost *ad verbum* with the Modena α.U.9.22. It is a copy of the Modena MS, as can be seen from the description of e.g. colon 14 of the song *Hec.* 154 ff. (Modena f. 81v, Cambr. f. 31r) where the Modena MS correctly has:

> χοριαμβικὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἐκ δισπονδείου χοριάμβου καὶ αὖθις σπονδείου

against the Cambridge MS which exhibits σπονδείου instead of δισπονδείου. Incidentally I may point out that the Cambridge MS was written by Michael Suliardus.[65]

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[64] K. K. Müller, Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen I, 1884, 382; Turyn, *Sophocles* 81 n. 84.

[65] On Michael Suliardus see Vogel-Gardthausen 318 ff.; E. Lobel, *The Greek MSS* 54 ff.; Douglas Young, Scriptorium 7, 1953, 17. More MSS written by this scribe are enumerated in Harlfinger, *Textgeschichte* 416. Suliardus also wrote *Gudianus gr.* 88 ff. 131-93, cf. GRBS 12, 1971, 106 n. 18. Turyn, *Euripides* 203, suggested that the Euripidean part of the Cambridge volume is a copy of *Est.* α.U.9.22; further, he pointed out that the Cambridge MS had its Sophoclean scholia on ff. 89v-204v copied from *Est.* α.Q.5.20. Wittek, Scriptorium 7, 1953, 290 should therefore be right in supposing the Cambridge MS to have been written at Venice where the Modena MSS were located around 1500.

Cambridge *Dd.* 11, 70 was shown by Turyn to be the source of the exegetic scholia on *Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Rex* and *Antigone* in the edition of Turnebus (Turyn, *Sophocles* 83 ff.). There is a specimen from the MS in Turyn's book (plate XVI), unfortunately it is not very characteristic; accordingly the

What is the relation between Parma 154 and Modena α.U.9.22? I think that there can be no doubt that both MSS go back to a common source; they are *gemelli*.

I may illustrate the relation between the MSS from a few examples drawn from the scholia on the *Phoenissae*.[66]

Both MSS have in common such errors as the analysis of colon 5 in the dialogue between Antigone and the Paedagogue *Phoen.* 103 ff.; the colon is written thus in Parma 154 (f. 76v):

ἆρα πύλαι κλείθροις χαλκόδετά τ' ἔμβολα

and analysed in both MSS as a τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ χοριάμβου ἐπιτρίτου δ^{ου} ἐπιτρίτου γ^{ου} καὶ συλλαβῆς. However ἐπιτρίτου γ^{ου} is wrong; the correct description is παίωνος γ^{ου}. Later in the same section at l. 165 (f. 77v) the 23rd colon:

ὁμογενέτερα περὶ δ' ὠλένας

is called τρίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ προκελευσματικῶν δύο καὶ ἰάμβου which is obviously wrong; for ἰάμβου we should read κρητικοῦ.

On the other hand Parma 154 has readings not in the Modena *gr.* 93 and is often right against this other witness. Since the same pertains to the Modena MS we conclude that they have to be treated as *gemelli*. I add a few instances of peculiar readings in the two MSS:

sch. *Phoen.* 103-192 colon I:

τὸ μὲν α^{ον} τετράμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ παίωνος δ^{ου} προκελευσματικοῦ ἐπιτρίτου γ^{ου} καὶ δακτύλου Parma

. καὶ διιάμβου Modena

sch. *Phoen.* 103-192 end:

τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἰαμβικὰ ὄντα τρίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα τούτοις μεταξὺ μεμιγμένα τοῦ τε παιδαγώγου καί τινα καὶ τῆς ἀντιγόνης λθ' εἰσιν ὁμοῦ πάντα οθ' Modena *om.* Parma

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identity of the scribe does not seem to have been realized until now. It is interesting to note that Wittek, *loc. cit.* found a distinct similarity between the writing in the Cambridge MS and Paris *Suppl. gr.* 310; could the latter MS, which contains the same exegetic scholia on Sophocles, also be by Suliardus ?

[66] For a full discussion of the text and scholia of Parma 154 see Bjarne Schartau and Ole L. Smith, *The Euripides Recension in the MS Parma 154* (forthcoming). A complete tabulation of the material (text and metrical and exegetic scholia) will be found there.

The errors common to both MSS and thus inherited from their common exemplar must for reasons of chronology be features of the original. Parma 154 can be assigned to a date around the middle of the 14th century and cannot easily be removed many years from the original commentary which should be dated to the beginning of the 14th century, c. 1310-20 (on this estimate see below p. 112). It would be difficult to place an intermediary MS between the original and the Parma MS as the common exemplar of the two surviving MSS.[67] This brings us to the vexed question of the authorship of the metrical scholia and therefore, to the recension of the poetic text in Parma 154.

Turyn, who was the first to examine these MSS in a wider context, suggested that the metrical commentary at least, had something to do with Triclinius and ventured to propose that it might be an earlier commentary than that exhibited in the final autograph of the Euripidean triad in *Angel. gr.* 14. He also pointed out two well defined differences between the Parma-Modena scholia and those in *Angel. gr.* 14: The Parma-Modena scholia do not mention any critical interventions in the text of the lyrics, and do not recognize their antistrophic structure. If the commentary *is* Triclinian, the former omission also differs from the τ scholia, the latter, as we have seen, can to a certain extent be paralleled in τ.

But Turyn did not fully realize the extraordinary features of the commentary and the text in the two MSS. That the commentary was devised to accompany the recension of the triad which we find in the Parma MS cannot be doubted. The question of the authorship of the metrical scholia cannot be discussed in isolation from the poetic text; it is the peculiar form of the text in Parma 154 we have to consider in order to solve the problem of the scholia.

Let me first point out that the text in Parma 154 is, as was stated by Turyn, predominantly Moschopulean with some Thoman interpolations and some stray but absolutely certain *old* readings. Thus we seem to have to do with a learned recension the author of which in some cases returned to the old tradition, for better or for worse, in places where both Moschopulus and Thomas had intervened. I mention the following examples (The data from other MSS are those given by Turyn):

Hec. 868 πλέον MBAVaR Parma πλεῖον XXaZZbT^{z}S

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[67] For the Modena MS I am not so certain.

Phoen. 554 τοῖς γε MCBAVRS Parma τοῖσι XXaZZbT^{z}
Phoen. 636 ἔξιθι χώρας MCBAV, *Laur.* 32, 33, *Ven. gr.* 468, *Matr.* 4677 Parma ἔξιθ' ἐκ χώρας XXaZZbT^{t}

We should also mention some examples where Parma 154 joins the Triclinian recension in accepting the old tradition:

Or. 286 ἐπάρας ἔργον MCBAVRST^{t} Parma i. l. ἐπάρας ἔργον ἐς XXa Parma s.l. ἐπάρας εἰς ἔργον ZZbT^{z}(?)
Phoen. 629 τόνδε δ' BAT^{t} Parma τόνδ' MCV^{pc}RSZb^{ac} τῶνδε δ' XXb τῶνδ' ZZb^{pc}Xa
Phoen. 1353 σφιγγὸς MBAVRST^{t} Parma σφιγγός τ' XXaZZb
Phoen. 1715 ποδαγὸς MBAVRSaT^{t} Parma παιδαγωγὸς Xa ποδηγὸς AZZb

These cases are important when we realize that Parma 154 contains interpolations otherwise solely exhibited by the bona-fide Triclinian MSS (a fact overlooked by Turyn):

Hec. 89 κρίνωσιν T^{t} Parma (but an isolated instance of this reading also occurs in A)
Hec. 128 ἀχιλείας T^{t} Parma
Phoen. 673 γᾶι φίλαι T^{t} Parma
Phoen. 1050 πτόλιν T^{t} Parma
Phoen. 1743 ἔγωγε T^{t} Parma (this Triclinian interpolation is not mentioned by Turyn)

To these five cases I may add what I find the pièce de résistance for the view that Parma 154 represents a text which had connections with Triclinius. At *Phoen.* 260 Parma 154 (f. 79v cf. plate 6) has as the last colon in the song 202 ff.:

ἔνοπλος ὁρμᾶι παῖς ὃς μετέρχεται δόμους

This was the vulgate before Triclinius; he was able, on the basis of his recognition of the strophic responsion in at least ll. 239-260, to delete παῖς as an interpolation, remarking in the scholium on 260 περισσὸν ἦν ἐνταῦθα τὸ παῖς διὸ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. It is therefore astonishing that the scholia in the Parma-Modena MSS analyse the colon as if παῖς were not in the text. The description of the colon is ὅμοιον (this refers to the preceding colon analysed as an acatalectic iambic dimeter) τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον. On the other hand we should be aware that this analysis is very different from that in

Angel. gr. 14 where Triclinius recognized the trochaic metre throughout the passage ll. 239-260. For this very reason the Parma text and scholia cannot have been derived from *Angel. gr.* 14.[68] But how is it possible that Parma 154 can have a word in the text disregarded (and correctly at that) by the metrical scholia? Because the scribe overlooked the deletion as happens often in our copies of τ? We may then also ask whoever deleted in the lyrics of Greek drama if not Triclinius? Moreover this case is not the only one. Before mentioning further examples I shall comment upon the Triclinian readings in Parma 154. The two readings from the *Hecuba* are in iambic dialogue and will therefore not prove very much. The case at *Phoen.* 673 is more interesting for here Triclinius in *Angel. gr.* 14 corrected for reasons of strophic correspondence. These reasons cannot be valid for Parma 154; why then do we find the Triclinian reading in this MS? The colon is written thus (f. 89r):

δέ νιν φόνος πάλιν συνῆψε γᾶι φίλαι

and it appears to have been given this shape in order that it should yield regular iambics just as in the case of *Phoen.* 260 above. Finally from the list we mention the case at *Phoen.* 1743. Lines 1741 ff., appear thus in the MS (f. 114r):

εἰς πατρὸς εὐκλεᾶ με θήσει συμφορᾶς
τάλαιν' ἔγωγε συγγόνου θ' ὑβρισμάτων
ὃς ἐκ δόμων νέκυς γ' ἄθαπτος οἴχεται

Against the known MSS Parma 154 omits γε l. 1741 and transposes συμφορᾶς to the end of the colon; then with *Angel. gr.* 14 our MS has ἔγωγε for ἐγὼ and interpolates a γ' after νέκυς. The reason for these manoeuvres appears from the metrical scholia; the three cola are regarded as acatalectic iambic trimeters. The reading ἔγωγε shared by Parma 154 and *Angel. gr.* 14 will be seen to be of the same kind as those mentioned above; it is a genuine metrical interpolation made to restore iambic metre.

Some other interpolations in Parma 154 have obviously been made for the same reasons; at *Phoen.* 251 a νυν is interpolated after φλέγει to make the colon (f. 79v)

πυκνὸν φλέγει νυν σχῆμα φοινίου μάχης

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[68] I may refer to appendix III where text and scholia on *Phoen.* 202 ff. are given from Parma 154 and *Angel. gr.* 14.

an acatalectic iambic trimeter as the scholium says. Two lines later, however, we meet with trochaic interpolation (l. 253):

ἂν ἄρῃς τάχ' οἴσεταί γε παῖσιν οἰδίπου

Obviously the γε is devised to make up a trochaic colon, described as a hypercatalectic trochaic trimeter. Similarly at l. 669 we have

γυίας ἔνθεν ἐξανῆκε πάνοπλον γ' ὄψιν ὑπέρ

with the note συνίζησις written above ὄψιν ὑπέρ. The colon is labelled a brachycatalectic trochaic tetrameter and thus the reason why γ' is added is obvious. From the *Phoenissae* I also mention the transposition at l. 689 (f. 89v) where Parma 154 has

ἀμῦναι γαίαι τᾶιδε πάντα δ' εὐπετῆ θεοῖς,

again to effect iambics. Dactylic metre is involved at ll. 796 ff. (f. 92r)

σπαρτῶν γένναν ἀσπιδοφέρμονα θίασον ὅπλιον
ἀντίπαλον κατὰ λάϊνα τείχεα χαλκῶι

where ὅπλιον instead of ἔνοπλον (the reading of the other MSS) and στήσας for κοσμήσας are invented to make the cola dactylic in accordance with the scholia.

The two other plays contain less striking examples; however some of them may be mentioned briefly:

Hec. 76 f.: In order to achieve anapaestic metre here Parma 154 (f. 4v) writes

εἶδον γὰρ φοβερὰν ὄψιν γ' ἔμαθον τ' ἐδάην

and later at l. 80 we find

ὃς μόνος οἴκων ὢν ἄγκυρ' ἐμῶν

Again to achieve the same object γ' is added after ἀχιλῆος (this is the Moschopulean correction) at l. 94 (f. 5r).

The standard supplement γε is used in a few cases in the *Orestes* to effect iambic metre, notably at l. 146 (f. 36v) φώνει γέ μοι, at l. 207 (f. 37v) ἕλκω γε and at l. 1287 (f. 63v) ἐν γ' ἡσυχίαι. Our critic also interpolates μ' in order to effect iambics at *Or.* 1255 (f. 63r) φόβος μ' ἔχει. The most impressive example in this play occurs at l. 1492 (f. 68r) where Parma 154 has

σκύμνον γ' ὀρείαν ἐν χεροῖν ξυνάρπασαν

obviously so modelled to make up an acatalectic iambic trimeter.

All three plays contain many more peculiar readings than I have mentioned here; some of them are very likely to be ordinary corruptions, but a good deal are undoubtedly metrical interpolations. The reason why they cannot be shown to be metrical interpolations in the same way as those mentioned so far, is that they occur outside of iambic, trochaic, anapaestic and dactylic metre. Only in cola of these types is it possible, with our present knowledge, to detect such interpolations. Our knowledge of the handling of other types of cola is too uncertain to admit of any conclusions. It is my hope to study the metrical practice in these scholia in more detail on another occasion but I strongly doubt that such study will produce cases more convincing than those already adduced. The detection of further interpolations is hampered by the fact that since the Parma-Modena scholia do not recognize the principle of strophic responsion in the lyrics, we only have the analysis of the various cola to go upon. And since almost any colon of any shape not exceeding the usual length admitted by the handbooks can be described by using the Hephaestionean system, we cannot say whether for example an omission or an interpolation was made for metrical reasons. For instance at *Hec.* 164 Parma 154 (f. 6v) has the colon

ἢ δαιμόνων ἔστ' ἄρωγος

described as a ionic dimeter consisting of a third epitrite and a ditrochee. It is well known that this is a *locus conclamatus* in the Byzantine recensions. The old tradition has ἐπαρωγός as has Moschopulus. Thomas (Z and Zu) wrote ἐπαρωγὸς ἔσται because he wanted a verb. Triclinius finally offered ἔστ' ἐπαρωγός, and the Parma version may well be an early Triclinian effort on the basis of the Thoman interpolation. However, is what we have in Parma 154 a simple corruption, or is it a metrical interpolation? We cannot tell, for we do not know why the author of the Parma recension preferred the text ἔστ' ἄρωγος to Moschopulus' and the old MSS' ἐπαρωγός; metrically this would mean a third paeon instead of the ditrochee. The Thoman text would effect a brachycatalectic trimeter consisting of a third epitrite, a third paeon and a spondee. We simply do not know whether the author of the Parma recension did choose and if so, why. If he chose, did he then prefer the ditrochee to the third paeon or did he prefer the acatalectic dimeter to the brachycatalectic trimeter? Which principles of metrical

doctrine guided him? We cannot tell from our present knowledge. And here a word should be said about the colometry.

We should be aware that Parma 154 shows colometrical innovations. To judge this phenomenon correctly we must remember that the colometry in our manuscripts is a reasonably stable quantity. Zuntz, *Inquiry* 31 ff. has shown that both our papyri and our manuscripts 'all reproduce, though with occasional lapses, one and the same arrangement of the text' (*op. cit.* 35). This arrangement goes back to Aristophanes of Byzantium; it remained unaltered because no one felt the need to alter it—except, as Zuntz points out on p. 31 'where [the MSS] reproduce alterations by Triclinius or are otherwise corrupted'.[69] It is not really likely that the colometrical changes in Parma 154 are due to plain corruption; not only are there too many examples, but since the text is accompanied by a metrical analysis of the cola one would suppose deliberate change to be the reason why the colometrical arrangement in our MS is different from that found in other MSS. Where the analysis is iambic, anapaestic, trochaic or dactylic the object of the change is clear; but in the other metres the innovations seem to have had no very obvious purpose. In Aeschylus it is different; in τ we can, I believe, nearly always see why a new arrangement was preferred by Triclinius. For example there is a very marked tendency to establish rows of similar cola, e.g. catalectic dimeters or brachycatalectic trimeters. No such object can be found in the colometrical changes in Parma 154 from the traditional colometry; I therefore refrain from pressing the colometrical innovations in favour of any theory of authorship.

Nevertheless we have to face this problem now even if a satisfactory solution cannot be presented. Our starting point should be the fact that Triclinius is the only known Byzantine metrical commentator on the dramatists. There may have been others; so far we have no knowledge at all of their existence. The school of Triclinius may have produced some metricians; the world has long since forgotten about them if they ever really existed. The Parma-Modena recension of Euripides—and as we shall see later, the *Par. gr.* 2821 recension of Aristophanes could be the work of an unknown Byzantine metrician; if so, is he pre- or post-Triclinian? He must be post-Triclinian for we remember the occurrence of Triclinian

[69] On the subject of the colometry in our MSS of Euripides I may also refer to Barrett's edition of the *Hippolytus* p. 84 ff.

elements in the poetic text. Then we must account for the metric interpolations—once more Triclinius is the only known candidate to come in for consideration. If, however, the recension of Euripides was made by someone with access to Triclinius' final recension of the triad why has it been used so sporadically? We have seen that where the Parma-Modena recension exhibits Triclinian readings they can be accounted for on the basis of the metrical scholia and bear no relation to the analysis in *Angel. gr.* 14. It is quite impossible to regard the Parma-Modena scholia and the text in Parma 154 as a '*Mischrezension*' using the final Triclinian recension.[70]

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[70] In this connection I wish to point out the nearest parallel that I know of, the so-called Paris class π of Sophocles (cf. Turyn, *Sophocles* 173 ff. with reff.). This class exhibits a certain number of interpolations and corrections made for metrical reasons (Turyn, *op. cit.* 177 ff.) but there are no metrical scholia except for a single one on *O.R.* 1515 ff. possibly derived from a Triclinian MS (cf. Turyn HSCP 63, 1958, 166 f.). I give the text of this scholium as it is printed by Turyn together with the corresponding one from T (= *Par. gr.* 2711) and Ta (= Ven. Marc. 470).

Schol. metr. ad O.R. 1515 ff. *e codd.* A = *Par.* 2712 *et* U = *Ven. Marc.* 467 (D—*Neap.* II F. 9 has the scholium too, but it is not certain whether it was written by the original scribe):

τροχαικὰ τετράμετρα καταληκτικὰ μέχρι τέλους

Schol. metr. ad O.R. 1515 ff. *e codd.* TTa:

εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ δράματος στίχοι τροχαικοὶ (τροχικοὶ Ta) τετράμετροι καταληκτικοὶ ις'.

On the other hand, considering the date of A, *Par. gr.* 2712, which is the main representative of the class π, we should not be too ready to dismiss this class as a certified post-Triclinian product. On several occasions Turyn (HSCP 63, 1958, 168 n. 3; *Euripides* 89 n. 146) has stated that A must be from the 14th century; indeed, to judge from the script it must be very early fourteenth century and I have some difficulty in seeing that the MS could be much later than c. 1325. (On the date of A Prof. Turyn has kindly told me in a letter that the scribes of A and D were colleagues and actually worked together on one occasion. Prof. Turyn also tells me that this MS written alternately by the two scribes supports a date 1325-1330 for A at the earliest; similarly D is written on Western paper without watermarks which points to the same period). The date of its brother U is even more perplexing. Wittek, Scriptorium 7, 1953, 297 gave from a report by the directress of the Marciana the watermarks of U as Briq. 12005 (= 1308-11). If this is correct the 10th indiction mentioned in the subscription on f. 336v must be that of 1312 as stated by Wittek *loc. cit.* This particular watermark Briq. 12005 is also found in L, *Laur.* 32, 2 of Euripides ff. 12-53 according to Irigoin, Scriptorium 12, 1958, 45 and 47 (this watermark is not in Turyn's report from Sandra Vagaggini, *Euripides* 223). On the possible identity of the scribe I have nothing to say since I have not seen U myself. Turyn (HSCP 63, 1958, 170; *Dated Greek MSS* I, 195) does not accept the proposal of Wittek that the scribe was Leo Padiates (Scriptorium 7, 1953, 286 n. 38)

In short, though such a theory presents some difficulties, I think the most probable diagnosis of the Parma-Modena recension is that it is Triclinian, made at a time when he was working on the basis of Moschopulus' recension and therefore it must be the earliest recension by Triclinius that we possess. To be precise I should emphasize that the stage represented by the Rylands *Hebrew* 1689 [71] fragments is considerably later. The text of the Rylands MS is much nearer to *Angel. gr.* 14 than to Parma 154. None of the Triclinian readings shared by *Angel. gr.* 14 and Rylands *Hebrew* 1689 occur in Parma 154.[72]

If we admit the possibility that the Parma-Modena recension is an early Triclinian effort we have some striking parallels with what we find in Aeschylus. We have a Triclinian metrical commentary of a very detailed nature which does not at all recognize strophic responsion but nonetheless interpolates in the lyrics for metrical

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to whom Wittek also attributed *Brux.* 18967; the latter identification is clearly wrong and is now doubted by Wittek, *Album* 24 (compare plate 34 in Wittek, *Album* with Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* plate 158 and Bick, *Wiener Schreiber* plate 27). The point of the watermark, however, still holds good, and thus we are to date U at least before the Triclinian edition of Sophocles, regardless of whether we accept Leo Padiates as the scribe. Now the metrical scholium is in both MSS A and U and it must therefore also have been in the source π. This source π was a predominantly Moschopulean MS in its poetical text, exactly as Parma 154, with some Thoman, Triclinian and old readings (Turyn, TAPA 80, 1949, 142 ff.); again Parma 154 is a parallel. On the present evidence I cannot go further but I do not think that Turyn's case of π as a definitely post-Triclinian recension can stand. The metrical scholium on *O.R.* 1515 ff. cannot, if the date of U is 1312, have been derived from the final Triclinian edition of Sophocles, which as far as we know, cannot have been as early as that (cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 35 ff.), nor can the Triclinian readings in π have been derived from that source.

In addition I might point out that the Fabriano paper in *Ven. Marc.* 467 can be compared to the use of paper of the same origin in the Copenhagen MS *GKS* 3549 (Irigoin *op. cit.* 46 and 47) which can be shown to have been written in Thessalonica. If Leo Padiates is not the scribe of *Ven. Marc.* 467, this MS need not have been written in Constantinople (cf. Irigoin *op. cit.* 49). *Vat. gr.* 1824, which probably originated in Thessalonica, seems also to have been written (partly?) on Fabriano paper (cf. on this MS above p. 22 n. 49). On f. 31 the watermark NA is visible; or could it be FA NA (cf. Irigoin 46) as in *GKS* 3549?

Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, XXIII compares the writing of A with that of *Laur. conv. soppr.* 53 (his plate 145); I am unable to see anything but a very superficial similarity.

[71] On the Rylands MS see G. Zuntz, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 49, 1967, 497 ff. and B. Schartau, *Observations* I, 3.

[72] For the Triclinian readings of Rylands *Hebrew* 1689 see Zuntz *op. cit.* (above n. 71) and Schartau, *Observations* I, 6 ff.

reasons; moreover, as far as we can see, the interpolations occur in identical metrical contexts: i.e. iambic, trochaic, and anapaestic metre (dactylic cola are nowhere recognized in τ).[73]

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[73] I wish to add here a few remarks on the metrical terminology used in the Parma-Modena scholia. The difference between these scholia and the final Triclinian commentaries is perhaps seen most clearly in the terminology used to describe the non-stichic passages.

The term most often used to describe these sections is σύστημα; as an example I quote the beginning of the scholium on the choral ode *Hec.* 444-83: τὸ σύστημα τοῦδε τοῦ χοροῦ κώλων ἐστιν κδʹ κτλ. The same formula τὸ σύστημα τοῦ χοροῦ is found with most choral odes: *Hec.* 629 ff., *Or.* 316 ff., *Phoen.* 202 ff., 638 ff., 784 ff., 1019 ff., 1283 ff. Of the remaining choral odes *Hec.* 905 ff. is described as κῶλα τοῦ τοιούτου χοροῦ and *Or.* 807 ff. as τὸ σύστημα τοῦ παρόντος χοροῦ; it will be seen that the terminology used in describing the choral odes is, with only one exception out of 10 cases, highly consistent. The exception at *Hec.* 905 ff. should be compared to some other occurrences of the term χορός. At *Phoen.* 1480 the five cola 1480-84 are described as ὁ παρὼν χορός and at *Hec.* 1024 the passage 1024-34 is called τοῦ χοροῦ τοῦδε τὰ κῶλα. This use of χορός reminds us of a similar use in τ, cf. above p. 71. But still at *Or.* 807 we find σύστημα τοῦ παρόντος χοροῦ where χορός is not used as a metrical term or a term for a metrical passage. The fact, however, that the Parma-Modena scholia say ὁ παρὼν χορός as they say for instance τὸ παρὸν σύστημα shows that χορός is used in a sense only known from τ.

The term σύστημα is not only used about choral odes but about almost any type of lyrical passage; and in a single case even about trochaic tetrameters *Or.* 729 ff. Then, σύστημα is sometimes qualified as σύστημα ἀμοιβαῖον (*Hec.* 689 ff., *Or.* 729 ff., *Phoen.* 103 ff., 1485 ff., 1710 ff.) or as σύστημα ἐπεισόδιον (*Hec.* 59, *Or.* 140 ff.). Our scholia in one case speak of a μονόστροφος (*Hec.* 154) and in two cases of συστημάτιον (*Or.* 1261 ff. and 1273 ff.). These are the terms used for the non-stichic passages in the Parma-Modena scholia. The stichic passages are simply called στίχοι. I wish in this connection to draw attention to the curious terminology used for the beginning of the plays. At *Hec.* 1 ff. both MSS have εἴσθεσις, but at *Phoen.* 1 we have εἴσβασις and finally the MSS are divided between εἴσθεσις (Modena) and εἴσβασις (Parma) at *Or.* 1 ff. I have not seen εἴσβασις in this sense elsewhere. These are the only occurrences of the term εἴσθεσις; ἔκθεσις is not found in these scholia.

As in the bona-fide Triclinian commentaries the analysis of the stichic passages is concluded with the mention of the last line, introduced by ὧν τελευταῖος. In the Parma MS the end of stichic passages is often marked by a note τέλος τῶν τριμέτρων ἰάμβων (or what the case may be); the same feature occurs oddly enough in *Par. gr.* 2821 and in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463; this seems to be Heliodorean terminology, cf. Thiemann 110.

The complete absence of colometrical signs or references to such signs should be noted together with the lack of references to metrical authorities. Names of particular cola are sometimes met with, e.g. ἀνακρεόντειον *Or.* 960 ff. (colon 29) and περίοδος *Or.* 1426 ff. (colon 7). An interesting feature in the Parma-Modena scholia is the increasing omission of definitions of the cola. While in the scholia on the *Hecuba* almost every colon is defined as χοριαμβικόν (τρίμετρον or δίμετρον etc.), ἀντισπαστικόν or ἀναπαιστικόν etc. as the case may be, these definitions are often omitted in the *Orestes*-commen-

I mentioned above that the scribe of Parma 154 also wrote the famous Aristophanes MS *Par. gr.* 2821; the problem of this MS cannot easily now be considered apart from its Euripidean brother since *the author of the Euripidean commentary must be identical with the author of the Aristophanes commentary.* Before studying in some detail the Aristophanes problem I shall present the evidence for the view that both commentaries should be assigned to the same author. It goes without saying that if the metrical commentary in both MSS is the work of the same author, this man must also be responsible for the recension of the poetic text in the MSS.

That the same scholar wrote both commentaries appears from close similarities in metrical views in both MSS; the most striking similarity occurs in the description of the trochaic tetrameter. On f. 45v in *Par.* 2821 we have on *Nub.* 510 the following explanation of this metre:

> λέγεται δὲ τροχαικὸν τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τροχαίους ἔχει ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐκ παντὸς τὸν ζ^{ον} πόδα τὸν πρὸ τῆς καταληκτικῆς συλλαβῆς τροχαῖον ἔχει.

Compare this explanation with the one in the Parma-Modena scholia on *Or.* 729: (Modena f. 87v, Parma f. 50v)

> λέγεται δὲ τὸ μέτρον τοῦτο τροχαικὸν οὐχ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς πόδας ἔχει τροχαίους ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος ἤγουν ἕβδομος ποῦς ὁ πρὸ τῆς καταληκτικῆς συλλαβῆς τροχαῖός ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις χώραις ἐπιδέχεται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δισυλλάβους καὶ τρισυλλάβους πόδας οὓς ἐπιδέχεται τὸ ἰαμβικὸν πλὴν τοῦ δακτύλου.

A similar explanation of the anapaestic tetrameter should also be mentioned for comparison. *Par.* 2821 f. 15r (cf. plate 7) on *Plut.* 487:

> καλεῖται δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον μέτρον ἀριστοφάνειον διὰ τὸ κατακόρως αὐτὸν τούτωι χρήσασθαι· ἔστι δὲ ἀναπαιστικὸν οὐχ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς πόδας ἀναπαίστους ἔχει ἀλλ' ὅτι μάλισθ' ὅτι πλεονάζουσι καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ ἐκ παντὸς τὸν τελευταῖον ἤτοι ζ^{ον} πόδα τὸν πρὸ τῆς καταληκτικῆς συλλαβῆς ἀνάπαιστον εἶναι· ἐπιδέχεται δὲ διὰ μέσου ἀδιαφόρως καὶ σπονδείους ἰάμβους τε καὶ δακτύλους.

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tary and disappear almost completely in the scholia on the *Phoenissae*. A similar tendency can be found in *Par. gr.* 2821 from *Nub.* 700 onwards cf. Holzinger, *Vorstudien* 53.

The two sets of scholia must be the work of the same author.[74] If so, the question of *Par.* 2821 and its metrical commentary is of the utmost importance for our study of the Parma-Modena scholia. Although our present subject is the early Triclinian Aeschylus, a survey of the problems in the Aristophanes commentary will be necessary, because the arguments that can be used against our attribution of the Aeschylus scholia to Triclinius can be supported from the situation in Euripides and Aristophanes. The arguments brought forward by W. J. W. Koster [75] against the attribution of the *Par.* 2821 scholia to Triclinius will, if accepted as valid, be especially damaging to my view of the GFE scholia. Therefore we have to consider these extremely knotty problems of the metrical commentaries on Aristophanes, and I hope my discussion will also throw some light on the nature of our main subject, the Aeschylus scholia.

The problem of the Aristophanes commentaries has no bearing on the problem of strophic responsion and its use in Triclinius' work, because there are in Aristophanes old metrical scholia transmitted and known to the Byzantine commentators. However, it does bear on the question of the general nature of supposed proto-Triclinian scholia.

The positions in the controversy about the Aristophanes commentaries are probably well known but in order to be as clear as possible I shall give a short summary of the discussion.

Following the fundamental researches of Zacher and Holzinger [76] we have been accustomed to the view that Triclinius made two recensions of the metrical commentary on Aristophanes, the earlier one being now represented by *Par.* 2821, a manuscript from the second half of the 14th century,[77] the later one being represented

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[74] This doctrine also occurs in the *Tractatus Harleianus* sometimes ascribed to Triclinius, cf. *Tract. Harl.* § 18b; p. 16, 14 ff. in Studemund's edition. For a discussion of the problems of this text and the Triclinian authorship I refer to a forthcoming paper of mine on the *Tractatus.*

[75] Koster, *Autour* 51 ff. See also Mnemosyne Ser. 4, 16, 1963, 59 ff.

[76] Zacher, *Hss. u. Classen* 627 ff. and the works of Holzinger cited in my Bibliography. On the Triclinian Aristophanes see Nigel Wilson, CQ N.S. 12, 1962, 32; Turyn, *Euripides* 32 n. 49.

[77] This date seems confirmed from the watermarks *var.* Briq. 3230 known from Verona 1367; see Koster, *Autour* 37 n. 2 reporting the findings of Th. Gelzer. The same report has been given by Holzinger, *Mélanges Chatelain* 217 (At my request the results of these scholars have been checked by M. Charles Astruc who kindly tells me that he agrees completely in identifying

by *Vat. gr.* 1294 containing four plays [78] and until 1962 the only

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this watermark with the one in *Par. gr.* 2821). On the MS see further Zacher, *Hss. u. Classen* 627. As far as I know a satisfactory description has not yet been given. One has to turn to Holzinger's paper to learn that ff. 12 and 13 are a supplement by a second hand. Holzinger is correct on this point; but I am not in a position to identify the hand in question. I point out that the *terminus ante* 1405 given by Zacher on the basis of the note CIↃCCCCV is very unfortunate indeed. Even Zacher may nod, it seems, for this note is in fact the old call number in Rigault's 1622 catalogue! This wonderful howler has been repeated by Dover, *Aristophanes' Clouds* p. CIV "1405 on f. 1r is owner's date".

It is more to the point, I hope, that our book was owned by Cardinal Ridolfi; this appears from the flyleaf where Matthaeus Devaris wrote an index of the volume and the Ridolfi call number *N° VIIJ duodecime*.

The problem of whether the supplement ff. 12-13 was taken from another exemplar should be investigated. There are no watermarks in these folios so the date cannot be ascertained. In my opinion the hand seems to be of the 15th century and thus the use of a different exemplar is almost certain (M. Astruc has also checked ff. 12-13 and agrees that there are no watermarks. He is himself of the opinion that the hand may be of the 14th century ('peut encore appartenir au XIVe siècle')). In fact we may surmise that Ridolfi had the book repaired, and in that case he must have had access to a Triclinian exemplar because of the sch. *Plut.* 415 on f. 13r: ὦ θέρμον ἔργον· κορωνὶς ἑτέρα ὁμοία. οἱ δὲ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ εἰσι τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι ογ'· ἐπὶ τῶι τέλει κορωνίς.

This exemplar cannot have been the original from which *Par.* 2821 was copied, for ἑτέρα κορωνίς in the scholium on 415 refers to l. 322 where the first *coronis* begins, and there we find nothing about a *coronis*, only a note on the metre and number of lines (f. 10v). The *coronis*, mentioned in the scholium in the supplement only recurs in the final Triclinian copies. But the supplement cannot have been taken from *Vat.* 1294 or from *Holkham* 88. A note similar to that in *Par.* 2821 has been edited by Koster, *Scholia* 18 from *Coisl.* 192: the only difference is that *Par.* 2821 gives the same number of lines as *Vat.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88 ογ', while *Coisl.* 192 gives οη'. Both *Coisl.* 192 and Par. 2821 omit the words between ογ' and ἐπὶ τῶι τέλει carried in *Holkham* 88 and *Vat.* 1294: ὧν τελευταῖος ἔχοι τις ἂν δίκαιον ἀντειπεῖν ἔτι, though *Coisl.* 192 adds in the margin on κορωνίς: τὸ ἀντειπεῖν ἔτι.

It seems worth mentioning that the appearance of the term *coronis* here in *Par.* 2821 was of sufficient interest to what seems to be a Renaissance reader to make him write a note κορωνίς in the margin opposite the scholium in question. The same hand has added some Latin notes and a few other miscellaneous comments in the MS. Besides this hand there appears another hand as corrector of the work of the original scribe (as pointed out above, the original scribe is identical with the scribe of Parma 154); this hand may be seen on e.g. 74v, 75r and 81v where he corrects the metrical scholia.

[78] On *Vat. gr.* 1294 see Zacher, *Hss. u. Classen* 603 ff.; Holzinger, *Mélanges Chatelain* 217 f.; Holzinger gave the watermarks Briq. 3187 (Siena 1328) and 3171 (Palermo 1371), but he referred to these only as the most similar to those actually found in the MS. On Holzinger's dating see Koster, *Autour* 35. Since there has been considerable confusion about the watermarks and the consequent dating of the MS (Irigoin, Museum 64, 1959, 150 has also given *Briq.* 3165) I have asked Msgr. Paul Canart for his opinion on

known representative.[79] This situation—two recensions by Triclinius—prevailed until 1955 when Koster found the new witness *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 containing the triad in a partly autograph Triclinian version. This version he proved to be a recension of Aristophanes representing an earlier stage than that in *Vat.* 1294 (which latter MS, it must be remembered, was at that time the only known representative of the final recension). The Paris *Suppl. gr.* 463 contains the Aristophanic triad with metrical (and other) scholia written by two hands, one of which can be identified with that of the text scribe of *Angel.* 14, the Triclinian Euripides, while

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the problem. He has obliged me very much by giving a very detailed report on which the following is based; but he must not be held responsible for my identifications. There are two different variants of the same watermark in the MS, but the state of the MS makes a detailed and exhaustive inquiry extremely difficult. Msgr. Canart was therefore only able to give me the facts as far as they could be ascertained without undue efforts. The variant measured by Holzinger is in ff. 40-47 and 88-103; this seems to be a very near variant of Briq. 3187 (= Mošin-Traljić 2022 from Siena 1328). The other variant is in the other folios (e.g. ff. 11 + 12, 17 + 22) and comes very near to Mošin-Traljić 2031 (1345).

The hand of this MS has not yet been identified. Turyn, *Euripides* 194 would compare it to the general character of e.g. *Par. gr.* 2711, *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94 and *Vat. Urb.* 142, none of which MSS resemble the style of *Vat. gr.* 1294 very much (for the scribe of *Laur. conv. soppr.* 94 and *Urb. gr.* 142 cf. above p. 46 and for that of *Par. gr.* 2711 above p. 48). It is, I think, more appropriate to point to the similarity between the style of *Vat. gr.* 1294 and that of Demetrius Pyrules. For specimens of this scribe see Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* pll. 152-154 and his illuminating discussion *op. cit.* I, 188 ff. I emphasize that I do not suggest that *Vat. gr.* 1294 was written by Pyrules; but there is a distinct similarity. which may well prove to be of some significance if it could be established that Pyrules was from Thessalonica, cf. Turyn, *op. cit.* 189 f. That Pyrules was from Thessalonica may perhaps be substantiated by the fact that his copy of Hesiod discussed by Turyn *loc. cit.*, the MS Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea II, 155 ff. 74v ff. is a copy (with some differences) of Triclinius' autograph of Hesiod *Ven. Marc. gr.* 464 (cf. Livadaras, 'Ιστορία 212). This copy was written and subscribed in 1337 and may thus have been made in Triclinius' scriptorium.

[79] The Holkham MS was, it seems, discovered by Th. Gelzer. On its importance as a witness to the Triclinian final edition see Nigel Wilson, CQ N.S. 12, 1962, 32 ff., where a full description and analysis is given. The discovery of *Holkham* 88 proves what Holzinger, *Vorstudien, passim* deduced from the Byzantine metrical scholia on the non-triadic plays in the Aldine edition by Musurus: that Triclinius had written a metrical commentary on eight plays of Aristophanes. Against Holzinger Koster, *Autour* 98 n. 1 uses the argument already employed by Thiemann that the expression ὑφ' οὗς is found in the scholia on the *Equites* and the *Aves* in the Aldine edition. In the Holkham MS only the standard Triclinian ἐπὶ τῶι τέλει can be found, so ὑφ' οὗς must be Musurus' "emendation" in the Aldine.

the second hand which wrote the metrical scholia is that of Triclinius himself.[80]

On the basis of this truly epoch-making discovery Koster[81] proceeded to restate his view, formulated already in 1927, that *Par.* 2821 so far from being an earlier recension by Triclinius[82] was

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[80] See on *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 Koster *Autour, passim.* On the problem of Triclinius' share in the production of the MS I fully agree with Turyn, *Euripides* 32 n. 49 who points out that the poetic text has *not* been written by Triclinius, but by the main scribe of *Angel.* 14, the symbol T^z in Turyn—and of course this man was not Nicolaus Triclines, in spite of the assertion by Tuilier, *Recherches* 204 f. who was probably misled by Turyn, *Euripides* 229 when he compares the writing in L ff. 119r-154r with that of the main scribe in *Angel.* 14. Thus I consider the attempt of Koster to show that the entire MS *Suppl. gr.* 463 was written by Triclinius mistaken. For criticism of Koster's analysis see above all Charles Astruc, Antiquité classique 27, 1958, 446 ff. who very appositely points to the pitfalls of Koster's methods (cf. also Dover's succinct remarks in *Aristophanes, Clouds* p. CIV n. 3); further, Aristide Colonna who in his review of Koster protested against the minute analysis of the letter-shapes and the neglect of the *ductus* (Rivista di filologia n.s. 36, 1958, 408): '. . . la mano del Triclinio . . . . non ha mai abbandonato nel tempo il suo tono angoloso, amante delle linee spezzate, laddove lo scriba del Parigino e di una parte dell' Angelico si distingue per una netta tendenza alle curve tondeggianti nelle lettere e nei compendii'. See also P. Pucci, BZ 52, 1959, 94, Irigoin, Museum 64, 1959, 148 and Zuntz, *Inquiry* 204. It must be admitted, however, that Koster's view has found favour with so competent a judge as Herbert Hunger (BZ 51, 1958, 385 f.). But I venture to disagree with Hunger's assertion that the hand of Triclinius "eine grosse Variationsbreite besass" (*op. cit.* 386). We must stress that such a "Variationsbreite" cannot be found in the certified Triclinian autographs which cover, it seems, almost the whole period of his scholarly activity from the Oxford MS *New College* 258 subscribed in the year 1308, through the Venice Hesiod *Marc.* 464 (dated in 1316 and 1319) (on which MS see Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS* I, 123 ff.) to the Naples Aeschylus II. F. 31 which cannot be dated with absolute certainty but nevertheless must belong to a period a good deal later than the Venice Hesiod, cf. above p. 34. Even if we accept, as I do, the Triclinian authorship of the Copenhagen Euripides *GKS* 3549 (on which see Turyn, *Euripides* 180 f.) we do not observe such variations in style and *ductus* as we should have to accept if attributing the *Angel.* 14 and *Suppl. gr.* 463 entirely to Triclinius. The results of such a view of Triclinius' style can now be seen in Tuilier's (*Recherches critiques* 190 n. 7) fantastic assertion that Triclinius may have written 'certaines parties du *Laurentianus* XXXII-2'.

On the subject of the Copenhagen MS *GKS* 3549 as a Triclinian autograph I wish to add that the matter now ought to be considered settled after the discussion in Schartau, *Observations* II, 52 ff., especially 58 f.

[81] Koster, *Autour* 50 ff.

[82] Koster, *Scholia in Aristophanis Plutum et Nubes* 13 on *Par.* 2821: "Monendum est, ne cum Zachero scholia metrica huius codicis, insignia propter mensuram dactylorum per dipodiam factam, pro iuvenili elucubratione Triclinii habeamus quam postea novis commentariis conscriptis correxerit". His view provoked a reply from Holzinger who published his

to be regarded as post-Triclinian, made on the basis of the recensions in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 and *Vat.* 1294 but modifying and revising the metrical commentary and poetic text. Koster maintained that *Par.* 2821 could neither find a place between *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 and *Vat.* 1294 nor before these MSS. But if *Par.* 2821 is to be Triclinian, it must, by reason of its metrical scholia be the earlier recension and this is what I take it to be.[83]

Koster's view has won acceptance in many quarters [84] but as far as I can see it does not meet some very pertinent objections; in fact it is based on a partial misapprehension of Triclinius' metrical work and editorial practice.

Kritische Bemerkungen in order to reaffirm the theory of Zacher. Koster then restated his view in Mnemosyne N.S. 60, 1932-33, 113 ff.

[83] In this connection I should like to point out that besides *Par.* 2821 we have a further recension of early metrical scholia by Triclinius on the Aristophanes triad in Modena α.U. 9. 22. (cf. above p. 83) and the Turin manuscript B.V. 34 (This MS I only know from Zuretti, *Analecta Aristophanea* p. 141 ff.)

As to the relation between the Modena-Turin scholia and *Par.* 2821 I can only state that the Modena-Turin scholia cannot be derived from *Par.* 2821. There are scholia in the Modena MS not found in *Par.* 2821 (I cannot say anything for certain about the Turin MS here) e.g. on *Nub.* 263. Could they both stem from a common source? I think not, for the following reasons:

In his book on *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 Koster on p. 50 ff. (see also his plate V) drew attention to the remarkable synizesis in *Par.* 2821 at *Nub.* 277 εὐάγητον, a feat which he did not want to impute to Triclinius. In *Suppl. gr.* 463 (f. 46v) Triclinius advocated the synizesis εὐάγητον. (But Triclinius could have found authority for such a synizesis in the metrical handbooks, cf. sch. A Hephaestion 108, 10 Consbr. and Choeroboscus 210, 13 Consbr.) It should be mentioned that in *Suppl. gr.* 463 he deleted the note on the synizesis, though his analysis of the colon presupposes it. Now the Modena scholium on *Nub.* 275 ff. is almost identical with that in *Par.* 2821, (which latter note can be seen most conveniently in Koster, *Autour* 106). It follows that the Modena scholia also analyse the dactyls dipodically, but there the similarity is at an end, for not only does the Modena MS show the correct lemma ἀέναοι against ἀένναοι in *Par.* 2821; it also takes the synizesis in the way recommended by *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463. The second colon is described thus in the Modena MS: τὸ β′ ἀναπαιστικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον συνιζήσεως γινομένης εἰς τὸ εὐάγητον τῆς ευ καὶ α εἰς μακράν. *Suppl. gr.* 463 has ἔχει δὲ εἰς τὸ ευα συνίζησιν. The basis, however, of the Modena MS is the same as that in *Par.* 2821 συνιζήσεως γινομένης εἰς τὸ εὐάγητον τῆς α καὶ τῆς γη εἰς μακράν.

I conclude that Triclinius made corrections in his earliest recension of Aristophanes (= *Par.* 2821), (from which corrected exemplar the Modena MS descends), before he gave up the analysis of dactyls in dipodies.

[84] Koster's theory about *Par.* 2821 seems accepted by Gelzer, Gnomon 33, 1961, 32; Pucci, BZ 52, 1959, 95 f.; Colonna, *op. cit.* (above n. 80); Irigoin, REA 61, 1959, 170 f. But A. Pertusi remains sceptical, Dioniso 20, 1957, 119.

When Koster propounded his view in 1927 he was primarily motivated by the apparent relative lateness of the Triclinian work on Aristophanes. In his edition of the Triclinian scholia from the MS Paris, *Coislin* 192 he considered, on the testimony of sch. Ar. *Plut.* 286, that Triclinius had already finished his work on the tragedians when he wrote the Aristophanes recension and commentary.[85] In this scholium Triclinius refers to his note on *Ajax* 733 (derived ultimately from Planudes,[86]) and thus one would suppose the Sophocles commentary to be earlier than the one on Aristophanes. But this is a partial delusion. For Triclinius only uses references in his final commentaries; if we had to take what he says at face value, the existence of, say, an earlier recension of Aristophanes, could not be proved. *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 is a case in point; the Sophocles reference does *not* occur here. Nor does Triclinius ever refer to his earlier work or use references to his own work in these earlier recensions. It seems as if Triclinius only referred *to* and used references *in* his final commentaries and treated his earlier attempts as non-existent. Accordingly we have welcome confirmation of Dawe's view that what we have of earlier recensions are to be regarded as *working* copies.

Thus nothing can be gained from this scholium for the question of the relative chronology of the earlier recension; what it proves is that the *final* Aristophanes was later than the *final* Sophocles. And more significant: if it is true that Triclinius never quotes or even mentions his earlier work but only the final recensions, then Koster's main argument considerably looses force. Koster was impressed by the fact that Triclinius in his later recensions criticizes readings known from *Par.* 2821; and Koster regarded it as impossible that the often violent polemic would be directed against Triclinuis' own (admittedly earlier) views.[87] It is precisely this argument, which, if judged valid, would be so damaging to my view of the GFE scholia, since in T we find polemical statements against readings found in GFE = τ.

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[85] *Scholia* 12. The scholium is in *Vat.* 1294 on f. 11r (on ἡμὶν): ἐν Σοφοκλεῖ εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ ἡμίν ὅτι καὶ βραχύ ἐστι· διὸ καὶ βαρύνεται. It is omitted in *Holkham* 88.

[86] Turyn, *Euripides* 36.

[87] Koster, *Autour* 52. He refers there to his paper Mnemosyne N.S. 60, 1932-33, 115 ff. where, however, nothing is offered as proof that Triclinius ever referred to anything but his earlier *final* editions. And why should he refer to his *working exemplars* anyway ?

It is surely an ironical circumstance that Koster's arguments against *Par.* 2821 being a Triclinian product, are almost identical with those employed by Fraenkel in the case of GFE: *a Triclinius who let all these things pass would be no Triclinius at all.* This is part of the misapprehension of which I think these distinguished scholars guilty. They envisage a Triclinius fully armed, as it were, with his metrical doctrine from the beginning of his career. This is not only contrary to the normal pattern in human life; it is also demonstrably false, witness the Triclinian work in L at the first stage.

Among the things Koster denies to Triclinius I may first of all mention the celebrated case of the dactylic scansion in *Par.* 2821. As is well known, the *Par.* 2821 distinguishes itself from the other metrical commentaries by the scansion of dactyls κατὰ διποδίαν against the regular monopodic scansion elsewhere in Triclinius. Now the dipodic scansion is not the only one employed in *Par.* 2821. Holzinger [88] drew attention to the fact that the regular dactylic cola, hemiepes and hephthemimers in *Par.* 2821 were analysed monopodically and he also gave the correct explanation of the apparent ambiguity.[89]

The change from dipodic to monopodic measure cannot be used against the Triclinian authorship of the metrical commentary in *Par.* 2821. For in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463, as Koster himself points out,[90] we find a similar doubt as to the anapaestic cola. Thus what Triclinius later calls an anapaestic βάσις or an anapaestic monometer (⏑⏑–⏑⏑–) is in *Suppl. gr.* 463 regarded as a dimeter e.g. at *Nub.* 468 where the colon (f. 51v)

ἐπὶ ταῖσι θυραῖς

is described as an acatalectic anapaestic dimeter κατὰ μονοποδίαν.[91] If such a description may be called Triclinian I fail to see why the dactylic scansion κατὰ διποδίαν cannot. Here the influence from Heliodorus induced Triclinius to subscribe to the monopodic measure of anapaests; at other places in the MS he follows his normal practice of dipodic scansion, but sometimes he corrected it, see e.g. at *Nub.* 1009 ff. (f. 65r).[92]

[88] *Kritische Bemerkungen* 60 ff.

[89] Holzinger, *op. cit.* 65 f. Against his explanation see Koster, *Autour* 51.

[90] Koster, *Autour* 96.

[91] Koster, *loc. cit.* It should be mentioned that κατὰ μονοποδίαν is a later addition here.

[92] Koster, *loc. cit.* n. 1.

Moreover, the old scholia by Heliodorus are also divergent on these points; anapaests as well as dactyls are scanned as partly monopodic, partly dipodic.

There is a further fact to be noticed in this connection. Triclinius' later emphasis on the monopodic measure of dactyls can only be properly understood if we assume that he originally did not feel certain. I only refer to a few selected instances:

Sch. *Hec.* 1088 (and see also *Or.* 982 and *Phoen.* 784): κατὰ γὰρ μονοποδίαν μετρεῖται τὰ δακτυλικά, ὥς φασιν οἱ μετρικοί.

Sch. *Pers.* 584: κατὰ μονοποδίαν γὰρ μετρεῖται τὰ δακτυλικά, ὡς πολλάκις εἴρηται. (Massa Positano 51, 21 f.)

Sch. *Aj.* 693 (and see also *Aj.* 172) (T f. 22r): τὸ ζ' δακτυλικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον· κατὰ μονοποδίαν γὰρ μετρεῖται.

We may also mention another point against Koster, which is precisely the same as that used in the case of Fraenkel: How is it possible to regard *Par.* 2821 as an excerpt of the Triclinian recensions when *Par.* 2821 is so different from these versions? Why did the writer of the commentary in *Par.* 2821 change so much? Why did he not simply copy his *Vorlage*? In Koster's view, the author of the *Par.* 2821 commentary had the Triclinian recension in *Vat.* 1294 at his disposal, but chose to make a recension with only a very remote likeness to his source. Also he revised thoroughly the metrical commentary, the purpose of which revision is incomprehensible to me.[93]

In short our objections to Fraenkel's view of F pertain also to Koster's view of *Par.* 2821. These scholars overlook a very disturbing historical fact: we have no knowledge at all of other Byzantine metricians. We only know Triclinius. The name of Joannes Tzetzes mentioned by Koster [94] has no place in this context. This arrogant

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[93] For instance why did the "anonymous" scholiast of *Par.* 2821 use σύστημα instead of διπλῆ ? If this analysis really is as stupid as Koster says, why did the scholiast omit all references to Hephaestion and why did he change—but not in all cases—the analysis of the dactylic cola ?

[94] *Autour* 53: 'Triclinius n'est pas le seul métricien parmi les commentateurs byzantins; on peut citer l'exemple de Tzetzes, qui s'est occupé de la métrique lui aussi'. In his note 1 to p. 53, Koster refers to his mention (REG 66, 1953, 23) of some metrical notes by Tzetzes (including that on *Plut.* 48, published by Zuretti, *Analecta Aristophanea* 144 f.); none of these betrays a deeper knowledge of the subject on the part of Tzetzes. Koster seems to contradict himself in the edition of Tzetzes' commentary on the *Plutus, Scholia in Aristophanem* IV, I p. XLVIII f.

polymath, it is true, assures us of his metrical knowledge,[95] but we have yet to see that he was able to handle the lyric portions of drama.

Finally I mention the curious fact that just as Fraenkel found a *Triclinius ante Triclinium* because of the undeniable existence of metrical corrections in F,[96] so Koster finds a μικρὸς Τρικλίνιος in *Par.* 2821.[97]

Apart from these probabilities do we have any positive proof of Triclinius as the author of the *Par.* 2821 commentary?

On *Plut.* 487 we have the scholium in *Vat.* 1294 (f. 16r) and *Holkham* 88 f. 18r:

> εἴσθεσις διπλῆς ἀμοιβαίας ἐκ στίχων ἀναπαιστικῶν τετραμέτρων καταληκτικῶν καὶ ἀκαταλήκτων ρια′ ὧν τελευταῖος τοὺς δὲ πένητας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρπάζειν πρὶν καὶ καταθεῖναι. καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον ἀριστοφάνειον διὰ τὸ κατακόρως αὐτὸν τούτωι χρῆσασθαι. ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι κτλ.

The same scholium is found in *Coisl.* 192, cf. Koster, *Scholia* 19 f. The explanation of the term ἀριστοφάνειον is also in the scholium in *Par.* 2821 (f. 15r) cf. above p. 96 and plate 7:

> καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον ἀριστοφάνειον διὰ τὸ κατακόρως αὐτὸν τούτωι χρῆσασθαι.

Par. 2821 then proceeds with the explanation of the anapaestic tetrameter, which is not in *Vat.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88. In both sets of scholia the name of the colon has been explained in the same way. Since it is impossible to regard *Par.* 2821 as an excerpt or derivation from *Vat.* 1294 or *Holkham* 88 (nor can *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 come in for consideration as the source, since the explanation is omitted there (f. 17v)) for the reasons given above, this particular explanation cannot be derived from these manuscripts. The explanation is Triclinius' as appears both from the definitely Triclinian *Vat.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88 and a couple of other instances of this type of explanation, e.g. sch. *Prom.* 159 ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα ἃ καλεῖται ἀνακρεόντεια ὡς κατακόρως τούτοις τοῦ ποιητοῦ χρησαμένου.[98]

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[95] Sch. *Plut.* 137, the poem v. 21 ff.

[96] Fraenkel, *Agamemnon* I, 10.

[97] Koster, *Autour* 214.

[98] Triclinius probably took the expression κατακόρως χρῆσασθαι from Trichas, one of the metrical authors he read and annotated in *Marc.* 483. Trichas does not use it in his treatment of the ἀνακρεόντεια, but he does use

Thus, if *Par.* 2821 cannot be a post-Triclinian recension, derived from *Vat.* 1294 (or *Holkham* 88) and Paris, *Suppl. gr.* 463, the same must hold good for the Parma-Modena text and scholia: the Euripides recension must be proto-Triclinian. If not, we are faced with the very awkward problem of a Byzantine metrician who commented not only upon Aristophanes but also upon Euripides; he knew Triclinius' recension of both poets and used some of his emendations, but he did not have the intelligence to use the best of them and to understand the value of the metrical commentaries; instead he composed his own, entirely different from those of his predecessor. This is not very likely, I think. In spite of the difficulties we have to face in attributing the Aristophanes as well as the Euripides to Triclinius, I hold this theory the more probable in view of the seeming absence of clear-cut proof.

To sum up the outcome of this discussion. There is nothing improbable in the view that Triclinius only gradually came to master the subject of metrical analysis; he proceeded by trial and error, and in Aristophanes and Euripides he must have made three or four different sketches of which only the final one on each poet was regarded by him as a finished product.

The point about Triclinius proceeding by trial and error of course also applies to his constitution of the text. As we shall see, the agreements between the final Triclinian Aristophanes (or Aeschylus as the case may be) and the Thoman version (or the vulgate, if we prefer that name) against any intermediate Triclinian copy or recension do not in the least argue against the attribution

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it about the ἀριστοφάνειον and this is the source from which Triclinius derived his note on that metre in *Par.* 2821 on *Plut.* 487. I quote *Marc. gr.* 483 f. 74r-v (Consbruch's edition p. 384 l. 3 ff):

τὸ τετράμετρον καταληκτικόν . . . καὶ ἀριστοφάνειον ὀνομάζεται οὐχ ὅτι πρώτως αὐτῶι ἐχρήσατο Ἀριστοφάνης ἀλλ' ὅτι κατακόρως καὶ συνεχῶς.

See further on the ἀλκμανικόν *Marc. gr.* 483 f. 71v-72r (376, 10 ff. Consbr.) τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐφθημιμερὲς ἀλκμανικὸν καλεῖται ὅτι πολλαχοῦ κατακόρως Ἀλκμὰν τούτωι κέχρηται. Further examples in the Aristophanes scholia occur at *Ran.* 905 (cf. also *Plut.* 253) ∾ Trichas 389, 22-23 Consbr. (explanation of the *hipponacteum*) and at *Ran.* 340 ∾ Trichas 379, 30 Consbr. (explanation of the Ἀλκαικόν). Triclinius seems also in debt to Trichas at sch. Pind. *Ol.* I, 2 (p. 45, 17 Abel), cf. Irigoin, *Les scholies* 97 for the name φερεκράτειον where Triclinius does not use the κατακόρως explanation used by Trichas 389, 13 f. Consbr. Turyn, *Euripides* 232 n. 213 thought that Triclinius' insistence on the monopodic measure of dactyls likewise was derived from Trichas; this may be true, cf. Trichas 374, 31 Consbr., but Triclinius may also have had it from the scholia A on Hephaestion 138, 12 Consbr., though this scholium is not in *Marc. gr.* 483.

of such intermediate copies to Triclinius. He may have returned to a reading rejected in his earlier work—in some cases rejected on a false metrical analysis—or there may be other reasons for the seemingly illogical behaviour of Triclinian MSS. Thus Koster finds a proof against *Par.* 2821 in the fact that *Par. Suppl. grec* 463 shows Triclinius sometimes correcting a text which he already seems to have corrected in *Par.* 2821 (supposing that *Par.* 2821 *is* Triclinian) e.g. at *Plut.* 397. But it is easy to see that this argument depends for its validity on two suppositions: a) that Triclinius wrote the poetic text in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 and b) that *Par.* 2821 was meant as a *final* recension. Both suppositions are wrong.

In fact I find that the whole discussion of the various Triclinian recensions has overlooked the important point that the earlier recensions were *working copies* in which all kinds of inconsistencies are likely to occur. This fact was pointed out by Dawe and must be taken into account.

It still remains to discuss the points raised by Fraenkel on the subject of metrical terminology. Fraenkel [99] who followed up some remarks by earlier scholars, notably Thiemann,[100] made the most of the 'incorrect' use of the term διπλῆ. Thiemann had noticed this 'incorrect' use of the term *diple* in the Byzantine commentaries on Aristophanes; there *diple* was used to denote a metrical period instead of the σημεῖον, which is the 'regular' use of the term in the old scholia.[101] But Thiemann did not know that these Byzantine scholia were in fact composed by Triclinius and therefore the objection of Fraenkel is not valid. Fraenkel was indeed aware of the occurrence of the same 'incorrect' use in *Vat.* 1294, but still he objected to the same feature in the GFE scholia, regarding it as an indication of the non-Triclinian nature of these scholia.[102]

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[99] Fraenkel, *op. cit.* 20 f.

[100] C. Thiemann, *Heliodori Colometriae Aristophaneae quantum superest una cum reliquis scholiis in Aristophanem metricis*, Halis Saxonum 1869.

[101] Thiemann *op. cit.* 98 f. On the colometrical signs in the old scholia see White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* 389 ff.

[102] Fraenkel *op. cit.* 21: 'We cannot say why the editor of F, when he adapted the Triclinian colometrical notes to his own more elementary requirements, preferred the formula εἴσθεσις διπλῆς to the expressions which Triclinius himself used in his commentaries on tragedy, but the fact that he did choose it shows that he was familiar with certain variants in Triclinius' terminology and could therefore do a little more than copy him slavishly'.

The reason why there is this variation in Triclinius' terminology will become apparent in the following discussion.

We may therefore dismiss the results at which Fraenkel arrived, but his and Thiemann's observation regarding the use of the term is of course correct. In T Triclinius always speaks of συστηματικαί or μονοστροφικαὶ περίοδοι when dealing with sections of iambs κατὰ στίχον, in τ he uses *diple* to denote these sections (and others, as will be seen presently) whereas in T *diple* is used only in the sense of the *sign* διπλῆ. This is true as far as it goes. There are no colometrical signs in our three witnesses to τ and they are not—according to general opinion—referred to in the GFE scholia. Or are they? It is somewhat disturbing to notice that at the end of the *Septem* and the *Persae* we do find a clear reference to the *coronis*, sch. *Sept.* 1054 (F f. 48r): καὶ ἑξῆς ἡ κορωνὶς ἡ τὸ δρᾶμα ἀποπερατοῦσα. and sch. *Pers.* 908 (F f. 68r): καὶ ἑξῆς . . . ἡ κορωνὶς ἡ τὸ δρᾶμα ἀποπερατοῦσα. This is regular practice in T [103] though there the *coronis* of course is put against the last colon of the play, cf. sch. T *Sept.* 1053 and *Prom.* 1040. This is clear evidence that the colometrical signs were known to Triclinius and used by him when he worked on τ. It is possible that they were in fact used sporadically in τ, but were not copied by our three witnesses. Dawe suggested that Triclinius only put the colometrical signs in his final edition, and that the notes in τ were meant to 'remind Triclinius what to do in later editions'. I think this could be the correct explanation since it is not easy to suppose that all three witnesses committed the fault of omitting these signs if they were in τ.[104] I must point out, however, that though Dawe's explanation certainly seems correct, the example of

[103] On Triclinius' use of the *coronis* cf. Koster, *Scholia* 54, Aubreton 194; L. Massa Positano, Dioniso 10, 1947, 255 f. The latter tries to explain the somewhat unprecise use of this sign when denoting entrance and exit of actors and chorus, by an anachronistic theory that Triclinius 'ha voluto indicare non proprio un' uscita o entrata del Coro, ma piuttosto il suo passagio dalla ὀρχήστρα alla σκηνή o viceversa, cioè il differente intervento del Coro, considerato come Coro nel suo complesso, nelle parti cantate, o come attore nelle parti recitate, nelle quali interveniva il solo Corifeo. È noto infatti che in Eschilo non esiste ancora tra σκηνή, quale luogo riservato agli attori, e ὀρχήστρα, quale sede del Coro, quella differenza così netta che si riscontra negli altri tragici'. This is surely overrating Triclinius' knowledge and understanding of these matters. I have no doubt that when he says e.g. sch. *Pers.* 703 that line 758 is marked by a paragraphos (οὔπω γὰρ ἐξίασιν οἱ ὑποκριταί) he means that the actors have not yet entered and that when he says that the chorus leaves at *Eum.* 397 (sch. *Eum.* 346) he obviously thinks that it does so, in spite of its presence ll. 415 ff. On the *coronis* in general see G. M. Stephen, Scriptorium 13, 1959, 3 ff.

[104] Dawe, *The MSS* 47. Compare the similar situation in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 (Koster *Autour* 95).

of a sign found by him is wrong. He asserted that F at *Eum.* 778 (804 must be a *lapsus calami*) has ᾠδὴ χοροῦ ἐπωδικὴ διὰ τὸ μέτρον τὴν διπλῆν τίθεσθαι. He seems unaware—and no one else seems to have discovered it—that at *Ag.* 1331 GF have a close parallel: εἴσθεσις χοροῦ ἐπωδικὴ διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὴν διπλῆν κεῖσθαι. In fact F has at *Eum.* 778 not μέτρον but as we should expect, μετά. That this is not a mention of the sign appears from similar passages in the Aristophanes commentary in the final version (*Vat.* 1294 + *Holkham* 88). I cite for example the scholia on *Equites* 498-506: τοῦτο διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὴν διπλῆν τίθεσθαι ἔοικεν εἶναι ἔκθεσις διπλῆς. διὸ καὶ τὸ παρατέλευτον ἔχει κῶλον ὅπερ ἔθος ἐν τῆι ἐκθέσει τίθεσθαι. *Equ.* 756-823: κορωνὶς καὶ εἴσθεσις χοροῦ ἐπωδικὴ μὲν διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὴν κορωνίδα κεῖσθαι.[105] *Ran.* 875-94: κορωνὶς καὶ εἴσθεσις χοροῦ ἐπωδικὴ διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὴν κορωνίδα τίθεσθαι (*Vat.* 1294 f. 90r, *Holkham* 88 f. 92v). And so in both our passages from the Aeschylus scholia *diple* will be seen to have been used in the 'ordinary' sense of a metrical period.

There is nothing to gain from quoting more examples from τ of this late use of *diple*; the problem is why τ follows the Aristophanes scholia in this use—or rather abuse—while T—and the other metrical scholia in the final editions of the tragedies—do not, but instead adhere to the old and correct use τὸ σημεῖον τῆς διπλῆς.[106]

[105] The texts are in the edition by Mervyn Jones and Wilson, *Scholia in Aristophanem* I, 2.

[106] On Triclinius' use of the *diple* cf. Koster, *Scholia* 54, Aubreton 198 f., Massa Positano, Dioniso 10, 1947, 254. There is, however, an enigmatic scholium in Uppsala *gr.* 15 on *Hec.* 59-215 that uses διπλῆ in the sense also found in τ, cf. p. 133. I wish to emphasize that Triclinius uses the expression διπλαῖ for <—< (παράγραφος + διπλαῖ) as well as for <>. He regularly mentions << in connection with the paragraphos as διπλαῖ συνήθως (sch. Pers. 256, 268, 280 and cf. Holzinger, *Vorstudien* 74) or simply διπλαῖ (sch. *Pers.* 694, 955), while <> may be explained as at sch. *Pers.* 700 δύο διπλαῖ ἡ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῆι τοῦ κώλου ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέλος ἔξω νενευκυῖαι. These latter *diplai* are put as sch. *Sept.* 239 (T f. 52r) says δηλοῦσαι ὅτι τέλος ἔσχε τὰ ἀνταποδιδόμενα (cf. also *Sept.* 998, *Eum.* 1014). The terminological difference seems clear-cut in T; there is only one example of διπλαῖ συνήθως used about <>, viz. *Eum.* 870 (f. 179v). The διπλαῖ συνήθως with a paragraphos is used to draw attention to a following antistrophe if a σύστημα κατὰ περικοπὴν comes in between strophe and antistrophe; then <—< is put against the last colon of the strophe. The other set of *diplai* <> is put at the end of the last antistrophe. But at *Prom.* 128 (T f. 10r) we find in Smyth's edition:

ἐπὶ τῶι τέλει παράγρ[αφος καὶ δύο διπλαῖ], ἡ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῆι τοῦ κώλου ἔξω νενευκυῖα, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέλος ἔσω δηλοῦσαι [ὡς τέλος ἔχει τὰ ἀνταποδιδόμενα].

As we saw above, the sign <—> (the diplai συνήθως) is not used to denote end of antistrophic responsion, but to warn the reader of a following antistrophe; I therefore suspect that we should rather supply δηλοῦσαι [ὅτι τῶν

Mere chronological speculations will perhaps not do since the final Sophocles was earlier than the final Aristophanes. The only difference between Triclinius' work on Aristophanes and the tragedians may be significant in this connection. In his metrical scholia on Aristophanes Triclinius undoubtedly knew and used the old metrical scholia, while in his work on the tragedians he had no predecessor and therefore nothing to work upon or help him. The fact that he used the Heliodorean scholia on Aristophanes [107] may account for the differences in terminology between the edition of Aristophanes and those of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. Further, why does he in his earlier work on Aeschylus, but not in that on Euripides in the Parma-Modena scholia,[108] use the term *diple* in the same way as in the final Aristophanes? I admit that I do not know the answer. We may suggest that the first Aeschylus was being worked out at a time when Triclinius had begun to use the old Heliodorean scholia on Aristophanes, which, it seems, he did not know in his analysis now in *Par.* 2821. The terms *diple* etc. appear in *Par. Suppl.* 463 in the same way as in *Vat.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88, so it seems reasonable to deduce that between his first and second stage of work on Aristophanes, he found or at least made a thorough study of, the old metrical commentary on the comic poet, and used the insight gained there in his early sketch of Aeschylus. In his final text and commentary on the tragedians he depended on the Manual of Hephaestion while in his finished edition of Aristophanes he continued to draw upon the Heliodorean scholia. This may be a possible explanation; but at least the distinction between the metrical vocabulary in the final Aristophanes recension, and the three final recensions of the tragedians can be explained on the theory that Triclinius in the tragedians worked on his own with nothing except Hephaestion to help him.

Another link between the terminology in the τ commentary and the Aristophanes scholia is the use of εἴσθεσις and ἔκθεσις. The old

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ἀνταποδιδομένων εἰσὶν αἱ στροφαί]; cf. sch. *Prom.* 159 (f. 11v) παράγραφος καὶ δύο διπλαῖ ὥς εἴρηται διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἀνταπόδοσιν. Then at the end of the section we find (f. 12v) at sch. *Prom.* 186: δύο [διπλαῖ ἡ μὲν] ἐν ἀρχῆι τοῦ κώλου, [ἡ δὲ] κατὰ τὸ τέλος ἀμφότερα ἔξω [νεν]ευκυῖαι δηλοῦσαι ὡς τέλος [ἔχει] τὰ ἀνταποδιδόμενα.

[107] If the author of these scholia really was Heliodorus. The assumption that Heliodorus was the author of the old metrical scholia has recently been questioned, cf. H. J. Newiger, RhM 108, 1965, 249 n. 68; D. Holwerda, Mnemosyne Ser. 4 20, 1967, 258 ff.

[108] On these scholia see p. 94 n. 73.

use of these terms is well known and has been discussed several times by Thiemann and others.[109] In the Heliodorean scholia on Aristophanes these terms are applied to the graphic lay-out of the lines, in the Triclinian commentaries on Aristophanes they may be used in the sense of the beginning and end of a whole play or a metrical section. I may cite the scholium on *Nub.* 314 from *Vat.* 1294 (= *Holkham* 88) (published by Zacher, *Hss. und Classen* 630):

> εἴσθεσις διπλῆς ἀμοιβαίας καθόλου ἐκ στίχων ἀναπαιστικῶν τετραμέτρων καταληκτικῶν ρκε'.

The anapaests ll. 439-56 are called ἡ ἔκθεσις τῆς διπλῆς κώλων . . . ὁμοίων ἀναπαιστικῶν ιη'.

In the sense of beginning and end of a play we find the terms e.g. at *Equ.* 1 in *Vat.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88:

> ἡ εἴσθεσις τοῦ δράματος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀμοιβαίων προσώπων ἄρχεται

and in *Vat.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88 at *Plut.* 1171

> κορωνὶς ἑτέρα ὁμοία ἐν ἐκθέσει τοῦ δράματος

In τ we find similar uses of these terms. At the beginning of the plays εἴσθεσις is regularly employed, cf. sch. *Sept.* 1; and at sch. *Sept.* 1054 (F f. 48r) we have

> διπλῆ ἐν ἐκθέσει τοῦ δράματος ἀμοιβαίας τὰς περιόδους ἔχουσα . . .

Similar notes may be found at relevant places in the commentaries on the other plays. For the other use of the terms we should notice that ἔκθεσις in this sense is very rare in τ, instances being sch. *Sept.* 822 where the term occurs three times and *Pers.* 1, while εἴσθεσις is regularly employed in the sense of the beginning of a section, cf. e.g. *Sept.* 375 εἴσθεσις διπλῆς καθόλου ἀμοιβαίας περιόδους ἔχουσα καὶ μονοστρόφους ἑπτά.[110] εἴσθεσις is regularly employed at the beginning of a *diple*, which is the label of any section not characterized as either χορός, strophe/antistrophe or μονοστροφικὴ

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[109] *Op. cit.* 99 ff.; see further Hense, *op. cit.* 22 ff.; Koster, *Autour* 91 ff.

[110] Notice also the identical terminology used here at *Sept.* 375 in τ and at *Nub.* 314 in *Vat. gr.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88 διπλῆ καθόλου (for this expression see further *Pers.* 290, 681, *Eum.* 566) opposed to διπλῆ μερικὴ *Sept.* 792, *Pers.* 215, 249, *Eum.* 276 and 281. In a similar sense Triclinius in *Vat. gr.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88 at *Nub.* 291 (cf. Zacher, *Hss. u. Classen* 630) uses μερικὸν σύστημα.

περίοδος. Only at *Ag.* 1331 is εἴσθεσις found together with χορός; εἴσθεσις χοροῦ ἐπῳδική; the structurally similar instance at *Eum.* 778 is called ᾠδὴ χοροῦ ἐπῳδική.

In T, as in the other final commentaries on the tragedians the two terms are only used to designate the beginning and end of a whole play. Thus again the final commentaries on the three tragedians are opposed to the Aristophanes commentary and τ. This should of course not be taken to mean that there are no differences in metrical terminology between the Aristophanes commentary and τ, nor that the differences are not much greater than the similarities. On one important point τ exhibits differences from the T scholia on Aristophanes as well as from those on the tragedians. The term σύστημα is regular in Triclinius' metrical terminology from the earliest Aristophanes commentary in *Par.* 2821 and is found in all other Triclinian metrical scholia except τ. It is used to describe lyric passages as well as non-lyric; the adjective συστηματική is also regular in Triclinian metrica with the term περίοδος, but absent from τ, where instead *diple* is used. Apart from περίοδος and διπλῇ no regular terms for the various sections of the plays are used in τ. I point out that σύστημα is a Hephaestionean term;[111] its absence

[111] Cf. Hense, *op. cit.* 130. Triclinius explicitly cites Hephaestion for the term σύστημα sch. *Pers.* 1 (= Massa Positano 28, 9): σύστημα δέ ἐστιν, ὡς Ἡφαιστίων φησὶ μέτρων συναγωγὴ ἢ δύο ἢ πλειόνων ἢ ὁμοίων ἢ ἀνομοίων (= Sch. *Hec.* 59, Soph. *Aj.* 134). The parallel passages in the Sophocles and Euripides commentaries show that we have to do with a standard Triclinian note. The reference is to Hephaestion 63, 4 Consbr. Similarly he defines κατὰ σχέσιν at sch. *Prom.* 526, sch. *Aj.* 221, and sch. Eur. *Hec.* 444 κατὰ σχέσιν δέ ἐστιν ὡς Ἡφαιστίων φησίν, ὅσα δουλεύων ὁ ποιητὴς ἀνταποδόσει καὶ ἀνακυκλήσει γράφει (cf. Heph. 64, 22 Consbr.). Further ἐπῳδικά (μέλη) sch. *Prom.* 397, sch. *Aj.* 172 (T f. 8v, Ta f. 122v-123r) and sch. *Hec.* 629: ἐπῳδικὰ δέ ἐστιν, ὡς Ἡφαιστίων φησίν, ἐν οἷς ὁμοίοις ἀνόμοιόν τι ἐπιφέρεται· ἐπ' ἔλαττον μέντοι τοῦ τῶν τριῶν ἀριθμοῦ, ἤτοι στροφῆς, ἀντιστροφῆς καὶ ἐπῳδοῦ, οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐκτείνεσθαι (ἐπ' ἔλαττον. . . ἐκτείνεσθαι *om.* sch. *Prom.*) γίνεται δὲ ὥσπερ τριὰς ἐπῳδική, οὕτω καὶ τετρὰς καὶ πεντὰς καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον (= Heph. 66, 24-67, 5). At *Sept.* 78 he repeats his note from *Phoen.* 202 on the structure of the parodos, (cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 37 and see my Excursus A to Chapter I). Then the term ἀνομοιόστροφα is explained *Prom.* 128 with reference to Heph. 69, 10; the Sophocles commentary cites Hephaestion in full on *Aj.* 201, while the parallel *Hec.* 688 is identical with the Aeschylus scholium. Finally I mention the definition of μονοστροφικά *Prom.* 561 = *Hec.* 1024 = *O.R.* 151 = *Heph.* 60, 21. It will be obvious from the above examples that the references to Hephaestion occur at the earliest instance of a given term in each of the three commentaries; later in the commentaries he only says ὡς εἴρηται.

I may also mention the cosmological explanation of strophe, antistrophe

in τ points with the other non-Hephaestionean features to a period in Triclinius' metrical studies when he had not used this authority to the full in his work. I emphasize that Hephaestion is nowhere cited in τ. To illustrate this difference between T and τ we may adduce sch. *Sept.* 1 where the initial iambic section is thus described in τ:

ἡ εἴσθεσις τοῦ παρόντος δράματος ἐκ μονοστροφικῆς ἐστι περιόδου.

in T:

ἡ εἴσθεσις τοῦ δράματος ἐκ συστηματικῶν ἐστι περιόδων.

At the beginning of the *Persae* τ uses the same terms about the anapaests: ἡ εἴσθεσις τοῦ δράματος ἐκ μονοστροφικῆς ἐστι περιόδου. T on the other hand says that these cola are μονοστροφικὰ καὶ συστηματικὰ ἐξ ὁμοίων κατὰ περιορισμοὺς ἀνίσους.

There can be no doubt that T had read and applied Hephaestion, τ has not. The terms used in τ must have come from the old Aristophanes scholia; this is where he found the term περίοδος,[112] though he enlarged the reference and used it outside of lyric sections, and this is where he found the term *diple* which he also used in a way sometimes very different from the Heliodorean one.

To sum up: I regard it as a probable hypothesis that the first Aristophanes commentary, and the first Euripides commentary on the triad in the Parma-Modena MSS were composed by a young Triclinius [113] who—as Holzinger said [114]—only had a somewhat superficial knowledge of Hephaestion. Indeed it is evident that the

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and epode that occurs at *Aj.* 192 and *Hec.* 647. This was derived from an old scholium in Triclinius' Pindar, cf. Irigoin, *Les scholies* 95. Hephaestion is cited at *Prom.* 561 for the term μετρικὰ ἄτακτα (= Heph. 65, 3) and the same note is found again at sch. *Hec.* 1056 and *O.R.* 151 without explicit reference. The references to Hephaestion in the Euripides commentary are only found in the scholia on the *Hecuba* (apart from the instances already adduced his name occurs also at *Hec.* 1088 for the term ἀνακρεόντεια). In Aeschylus he is cited as late as the *Persae* commentary on *Pers.* 1; apart from a single reference at *Sept.* 975 all other references are found in the *Prometheus* commentary. On Sophocles most references occur in the *Ajax*, but there are a few later on at *O.R.* 151, *Ant.* 100 (= Heph. 67, 14 f.) and at *Trach.* 947 (Heph. 67, 12 f.)

[112] Hense 130: 'Diejenigen Mere, die der Hephästioneische Tractat περὶ ποιήματος als συστήματα bezeichnet, heissen in den Resten der Kolometrie durchweg περίοδοι'.

[113] Cf. the Excursus A on Triclinian chronology p. 41 f.

[114] *Kritische Bemerkungen* 70.

terms σύστημα and συστηματικόν in these early scholia are derived from Hephaestion. Then Triclinius found the old scholia on Aristophanes and made a new recension on the basis of a more Heliodorean approach. As Koster has rightly emphasized in his book on p. 93 ff., *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 is much nearer to the old scholia than the commentary in *Vat.* 1294 and *Holkham* 88 where Triclinius' renewed study of Hephaestion and the scholia on his Manual, probably begun in connection with the work on Pindar, had resulted in a certain amalgam of Heliodorean and Hephaestionean terminology. The first recension of Aeschylus naturally takes its place in this evolution at the time of Triclinius' second recension of Aristophanes, the one contained in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463, if this is the second and not the third, as I am inclined to think, placing the Modena-Turin scholia between *Par.* 2821 and *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463.

I admit that this is partly pure speculation but at least such a hypothesis goes part of the way to explain what we find in our Triclinian commentaries. The question will perhaps only be settled when the whole of the Aristophanes material has been published in reliable editions, and one may hope that further volumes of Koster's great edition of the Aristophanes scholia will enable scholars to build their views on more solid foundations than has hitherto been possible. I hope, for my part, to be able to pursue the question of the Euripides scholia on another occasion [115] and since it seems that the Triclinian Aristophanes commentary believed to be early will not be included in full in Koster's edition, it will probably be necessary to treat these scholia in connection with a more detailed analysis of the Euripides scholia.

[115] I am preparing an edition of the metrical scholia on the Euripidean triad in cooperation with Mr. Bjarne Schartau.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PRINCIPLE OF STROPHIC RESPONSION AND ITS EFFECT ON TEXT AND COLOMETRY

We have seen above that one of the most important differences between τ and T was on the subject of strophic responsion. It appeared that in many places τ had nothing about this principle, though T had. On the other hand there are cases where strophic responsion is acknowledged in the former recension, and we have also seen in which circumstances Triclinius in τ was able to analyse in strophes and antistrophes. In view of his later practice it will be of great value to see to what critical use, if any, he put the strophic analysis, the analysis κατὰ σχέσιν, as he later called it in T.[1]

We shall begin our analysis with the play where we are in possession of the fullest evidence, the *Septem*.

In order to judge how far Triclinius modifies the standard colometry of the manuscripts available to him, it will be necessary to compare his colometry in τ with the vulgate arrangement. As a specimen of the standard colometry in pre-Triclinian MSS of the triad, I have chosen the MS L, *Laur.* 32, 2 which has the advantage that it is known to have been written in Triclinius' scriptorium, cf. above p. 74; I shall also adduce the evidence of G and, of course, of F^{ac}. There is a certain element of chance in this selection of material for comparison, but as far as my acquaintance with the Byzantine vulgate goes, the MSS do not really differ very much in colometrical arrangement, and where LF^{ac} agree we can be as certain as we ever can be that we have the colometry on which Triclinius set to work. In doubtful cases I shall also adduce the testimony of Rb, *Vat. gr.* 2222 (cf. on this MS Turyn, *Aeschylus* 73 and *Sophocles* 32 n. 22.[2] As a witness for the old colometry I shall

[1] This term he had from Hephaestion, cf. 64, 22 Consbr. and Triclinius on *Prom.* 526.

[2] This MS *Vat. gr.* 2222 is very interesting. To judge from the style of the script of the Aeschylus part (which is the only part of the MS that I have seen), the date seems to be early 14th century (hardly 15th as given by Turyn, *Aeschylus* 73). The most extraordinary feature of this MS is the correction of the colometry throughout the three plays by means of crosses placed above the line. For this way of indicating colometry in Triclinian MSS cf. p. 166 n. 20. In some cases, as in F, the colometry has been corrected by

use M; it will be seen that G can be taken practically as another witness since this MS usually, but not always, follows M. Because the MS G also appears to have been written in Triclinius' scriptorium it may represent the colometry of one of the old sources available to Triclinius.

In the *Septem* strophic responsion is recognized for the first time in the iambic/lyric dialogue between Eteocles and the chorus ll. 203 ff.

In the scholium on the first strophe ll. 203-207 Triclinius in τ analyses the cola as four brachycatalectic trimeters followed by a brachycatalectic dimeter (a hemiolion). We cannot know *a priori* whether this analysis is based on manuscript authority—it will be seen later that Triclinius often refers to old MSS in order to argue for his colometry—or whether the analysis is his own work.

In the section with which we are now dealing, ll. 203-244, none of our manuscripts exhibits the colometry of F^{pc}. We must therefore assume that Triclinius himself worked out the colometry of the lyric cola, though he may of course to some degree have used what he found in the MSS as a starting point. If we take an over-all view of the whole section we shall see that Triclinius reduces the disorder in the MSS to a rational system. All three pairs of strophe and antistrophe are viewed as a number of brachycatalectic trimeters followed by a hemiolion.

In the manuscripts used by me there is not a single strophe or antistrophe which corresponds exactly to what is found in τ. This is not to say that there are no similarities between the colometrical arrangement in $MGLF^{ac}$ and F^{pc}. For instance the final hemiolion may have been established by Triclinius in τ from what he found in the MSS; F^{ac} exhibits the hemiolion at l. 207 and l. 235, L at 207 and 235, G at 207, 215, 235 and 241, M at 207, 215, 235 and 241.

Thus Triclinius did no more than generalize the hemiolion in all strophes and antistrophes, probably from the first occurrence at l. 207 where all MSS agree.

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transposition of syllables from one line to the next. However, the colometry thus indicated has no very striking affinity with the two Triclinian recensions, nor are there, as far as I can see, any Triclinian elements in the text and scholia of the MS. For the present I must leave this riddle aside, but I hope to return to the problem of these colometrical corrections on another occasion.

Bryson, *Contributions* 158 says that according to Turyn the watermarks indicate the 14th century. She further notes (*op. cit.* 159) that the MS is 'of confused derivation, but . . . predominantly Thoman'. It contains also some old readings and scholia.

He may have generalized the brachycatalectic trimeters in the same way. How he did so in detail may be seen from the first strophe, the colometry of which is identical in LGF^{ac} (M is very different here, only the last colon is identical in all four MSS). I give here the arrangement in LGF^{ac} indicating with dots (:) as in F^{pc}, the revision by F^{pc} from τ (I give the F^{ac} text; textual differences between the MSS not discussed in the following are not given; cf. also plate 4):

ὦ φίλον οἰδίπου τέκος ἔδεισ' ἀκού : σασα
τὸν ἁρματόκτυπον ὄττοβον ὄττοβον
ὅτι τε : σύριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἑλίτροχοι
ἵππι : κῶν τ' ἀύπνων πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα :
πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν

In the manuscripts used here only M exhibits one of these cola as it is in the revised F^{pc} form, namely the first one. This may be a purely accidental circumstance, though we cannot exclude the possibility that Triclinius found the colon written thus in a MS used by him. He may of course have generalized the remaining cola from this standard; alternatively he may have found this generalized brachycatalectic trimeter in some of the following strophes and antistrophes in the MSS. In the antistrophe ll. 211-215 only G of our MSS shows any of the cola (the first one) in the form preferred by Triclinius in τ, but in the next strophe ll. 219-222 the first colon is identical to that in τ in GLF^{ac}. The second antistrophe has the two first cola in GLF^{ac} in a form that is identical with that in τ. I shall not continue this list; it is probable that Triclinius generalized the brachycatalectic trimeters from what he found in the MSS.

Let us return to the first strophe ll. 203-207. Besides the revision of the colometry, F^{pc} also revised the *text* of F^{ac}. By a row of dots written above the word he deleted the second ὄττοβον. This deletion must have been based on what F found in τ; there, it seems, he found ὄττοβον written only once (or twice, with the second one deleted as in F^{pc}). Of the MSS known to us only M and H^{ac} [3]

[3] Unless the source is specifically pointed out my reports on the readings in the MSS are derived from Dawe, *Collation* or from Page's apparatus in the Oxford edition. I shall have occasion to correct Page's reports of F; I warn the reader that they cannot be trusted. As stated elsewhere (cf. p. XIII), my reports of the MSS MGLFT are based on photographs or microfilm. In the case of F, however, I wish to emphasize that I have collated the original MS and checked dubious points from photographs as well as from the original.

besides the Triclinian MSS exhibit this correct text—all other witnesses have the word written twice. We may thus infer that this reading was taken over by Triclinius from an old source, though it cannot be excluded that he hit upon it himself. This type of emendation is within the powers of Triclinius. But whether he made it himself or took it over from an older and purer source, why did he introduce it?

From what I take to be more or less the *communis opinio* about Triclinius we must reply that he sought to establish strophic responsion.

However, this can hardly be the explanation here. He only wanted to make the colon an antispastic brachycatalectic trimeter; in any case the deletion of the second ὅττοβον does not effect responsion with the colon in the antistrophe l. 212. The antistrophe is written by LF^{ac} (G, as mentioned above, is somewhat different from LF^{ac} here) in the following way—again I indicate the redivision by F^{pc} by two dots (cf. plate 4):

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ : χαῖα
βρέτη πίσυνος θεοῖς νιφάδος ὅτ' ὀ : λοᾶς
νιφομένας βρόμος ἐν πύλαις
δὴ τό : τ' ἤρθην φόβωι πρὸς μακάρων λιτὰς
πόλεως : ἵν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλκάν

Syllabic responsion cannot have been the object, but only restitution of cola of similar length. This is important; for it gives the clue to the understanding of the metrical work in the sections in τ recognized as strophes and antistrophes. This is the view I shall put forward in this chapter from a study of the metrical corrections in τ, that Triclinius in his early work on Aeschylus did not put his grasp of the strophic structure, the structure κατὰ σχέσιν, to the use he did in his final edition, but only used it to establish cola of similar length. These corrections I shall call colometrical corrections in contrast with corrections made for reasons of strophic responsion.

I have commented upon Triclinius' early view of the cola in this section ll. 203 ff. as antispastic, above p. 72 f. In order to take e.g. l. 203 as a brachycatalectic trimeter Triclinius must have analysed the colon thus:

– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –

But even taking into account the laxity of this antispastic metre it is impossible to regard lines 213 and 214 as brachycatalectic. According to the view adopted in τ line 213 is acatalectic and line 214 must be catalectic. The corresponding cola in the strophe are both brachycatalectic. This difficulty may never have been solved by Triclinius, for there is no trace of emendation in these lines. I point out the discrepancy because it is evidence that τ was a working exemplar where all kinds of inconsistencies may appear. On the other hand there are cases where the scholia presuppose not the text we can read in F^{pc}, but the text eventually adopted by Triclinius in T—and thus already in τ—but here nothing leads us to suppose that F^{pc} does not represent what was found in τ. If Triclinius did overcome the difficulty and remove the discrepancy between text and scholia, the evidence has not been transmitted to posterity.

In T Triclinius gave up the analysis preferred in τ and took the metre as choriambic.[4] His earlier view of the cola as antispastic was caused by the observation, as the scholium on ll. 203 ff. says, that the choriambs were not ἐν τάξει, that is, they were not regular. In T, however, he still depended on the τ analysis, for he took as the first colon what he had already established in τ. In T the first colon is:

ὦ φίλον οἰδίπου τέκνον ἔδεισ' ἀκού-

It will be seen that he changed τέκος into τέκνον in the later recension. Why did he do so? In T as well as in τ the colon in the antistrophe is

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ-

---

[4] For the T scholia on the *Septem* I refer to Dindorf's unreliable publication in Phil. 21, 1864, 193 ff. The scholium on 203-207 is omitted there so I give it in full. The pages of T (ff. 50v-51r) where it has been written are seriously damaged in the part where the scholium stands and I give my supplements in brackets:

ἡμέτερον + ὦ φίλον οἰδίπου· τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴδη καλεῖται ὡς εἴρηται ἀλλοιόστροφα· εἰσι δὲ καὶ κατὰ σχέσιν. τῆς παρούσης οὖν στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα ζ', τὸ α' χοριαμβικὸν τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον κατ' ἀντιπαθείαν μίξεως ἐκ χοριάμβου, ἀντισπάστου [καὶ] διιάμβου, τὸ β' ὅμοιον [δί]μετρον ἀκατάληκτον [ἐκ] χοριάμβου καὶ διιάμβου, [τὸ τρίτον] ἡμιόλιον ἐκ χοριάμβου πεντασυλλάβου καὶ ἰάμβου, τὸ δ' [δίμετρον ὅμοιον τῶι] β' ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ διιάμβου πεντασυλλάβου, τὸ ε' ὅμοιον [τῶι γ' ἐκ δι]τροχαίου καὶ ἰάμβου, τὸ ϛ' ὅμοιον τῶι β' κατὰ πάντα, τὸ ζ' ὅμοιον δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ χοριάμβου πεντασυλλάβου καὶ ἀναπαίστου. ἐπὶ τέλει παράγραφος καὶ διπλαῖ ἡ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῆι τοῦ κώλου ἔξω νενευκυῖα, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέλος ἔσω.

with the sign ——ı over προ- in T corresponding to the same sign over τεκν- in the strophe. In τ there can be no doubt that προ- was regarded as short; otherwise the colon would not have been brachycatalectic. Triclinius in T can only have regarded προ- as long and written τέκνον for τέκος because he did not want a second paeon in a choriambic colon. Critics have often ridiculed Triclinius' metrical practice; I hope to show that this is unfair. In the present case it is worth noticing that in the three plays where we have a full analysis in T, there are only three cases of paeons in choriambic cola. These three cases are all found in the *Septem*, at ll. 233, 239 and 287, and two occur in what are metrically very difficult and perhaps considerably corrupt passages.

The remaining cola in the strophe were written in T thus:

-σασα τὸν ἁρματόκτυπον
ὄττοβον ὅτι τε σύ-
ριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἑλίτροχοι
ἱππικῶν τ' ἀύπνων
πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα
πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν

Apart from the last colon, in T called a catalectic dimeter instead of τ's hemiolion, there is no obvious similarity between the colometry in τ and T. The same, of course, applies to the antistrophe, the text of which was taken over in T from τ. What was the source of Triclinius' colometry? He may have worked it out for himself; the fact remains, however, that the same arrangement is found in M, and by a curious chance in G, too, at least in the antistrophe. Unfortunately in the remaining lyric cola in the section ll. 203-244 the difference in colometry between the MSS is almost negligible, so from this section alone we can hardly argue that Triclinius in T used an old source not available for his work in τ. Anyway, this instance reminds us that we have to reckon with the possibility that T is based on old sources not used in τ.

To proceed with the analysis of τ, in the next pair of strophe and antistrophe (ll. 219-222 = 226-229) the most interesting feature is the last colon. MGLF^{ac} all have these cola written thus

ἁπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐωι

and

κρημναμέναν νεφέλαν ὀρθοῖ

F^pc in the strophe deletes the α in ἁπτόμενον and transposes the letter to the end of the preceding colon after which he then puts the usual dots to indicate colon-end. Accordingly in the antistrophe a row of dots is placed after κρη-. A scholium on l. 229 written by F^pc tells us why: οὕτω χρὴ γράφεσθαι ἵν' εἴη τὸ ἑξῆς (sc. κῶλον) ἡμιόλιον ὡς τὰ λοιπά.

Now we have no reason to think that the scribe F was the author of this note; he must have taken it over wholesale from τ, and thus he gives us proof that the colometry of the basis of τ was similar to that of MGLF^ac. I say the basis of τ for the note also proves that τ was a non-Triclinian MS corrected by Triclinius precisely as F^ac was corrected by F^pc. We must assume that τ was a manuscript of the same kind as e.g. *Angel. gr.* 14 or *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463, viz. an originally Thoman manuscript on which Triclinius set to work in the way Turyn has demonstrated for *Angel. gr.* 14 and Koster for *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463.

The colometry in τ, to judge from the scholium just quoted, must have been largely identical with that found in F^ac and the other pre-Triclinian witnesses. In τ Triclinius marked a colon-end after κρη- l. 229 as F^pc was to do later. Then Triclinius added the note which would have had no meaning if he had not changed the colometry of his *manuscrit de base.* Very probably Triclinius indicated colon-end in his usual way by dots, which technique was taken over by F^pc.

This pair of strophe and antistrophe may have led him to the colometry established in τ, for GLF^ac have, apart from the hemiolion in the last colon restored in τ, the same arrangement. From here Triclinius may have generalized the brachycatalectic trimeters. M also has this colometry of the pre-Triclinian MSS.

We saw above that in T he gave up his earlier analysis of the first pair and regarded the cola ll. 203-207 = 211-215 as choriambic. He did the same in the pair we are discussing now; he returned to the old colometry, which is here identical with that in GLF^ac. This necessitated the rejection of the hemiolion in the last colon; this colon he now called, in strophe and antistrophe, an acatalectic choriambic dimeter consisting of a choriamb and a pentasyllabic diiamb.

In the final pair ll. 233-235 = 239-241 there are a number of textual differences between the two Triclinian recensions. In the colometry the two recensions are identical; and compared to pre-

Triclinian colometry the only seeming difference occurs at l. 241 where L and F^{ac} have as the last colon in the antistrophe

πόλιν τίμιον ἕδος ἱκόμαν

However, since not only G but also the 'pure' Thoman MS Rb, *Vat. gr.* 2222, have colon-end after πόλιν, in τ we should probably regard the hemiolion as the traditional colometry, as also in M.

Now for the textual differences between τ and T:

The most telling case is ἀκρόπολιν (l. 240 in τ and shared by the other MSS) against the undoubtedly correct ἀκρόπτολιν in T.[5] Triclinius notes in an interlinear scholium prefixed with a cross: διὰ τὸ μέτρον. Why did Triclinius find fault in T with the text he accepted in τ? Although the writing of ἀκρόπτολιν in order to satisfy metrical requirements, is an innovation quite within the powers of Triclinius in τ, cf. p. 186 on *Sept.* 106.[6]

The obvious reason is that in τ he did not feel obliged to restore syllabic responsion; he analysed the colon l. 240

ταρβοσύνωι φόβωι τάνδ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν

as a brachycatalectic trimeter

– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –

corresponding to the brachycatalectic trimeter l. 234

δυσμενέων δ' ὄχλον πύργος ἀποστέγει [7]

The innovation in T is due to Triclinius' wish to establish complete syllabic correspondence.

The other corrections in T as against τ depend on the changed analysis of the cola in T as well as on strophic correspondence.

At l. 233 T has

διὰ μὲν θεῶν πόλιν νεμόμεθ' ἀδάμαστον

against τ's

διὰ θεῶν πόλιν νεμόμεσθ' ἀδάμαντον

---

[5] This conjecture was made independently by Porson. Murray's note '*e coni. Tr*' is undoubtedly correct.

[6] Moschopulus at Eur. *Or.* 1094 was also aware of the possibilities of this easy substitution (Turyn, *Euripides* 112); cf. also Triclinius at *Phoen.* 1050 (Turyn, *op. cit.* 193).

[7] F *in linea* has ὄχλων with ο suprascript. Metrically there is nothing to choose between ὄχλων πύργος and ὄχλον πύργος so I assume from T that τ also had ὄχλον.

In the colon of the antistrophe T has

ποταίνιον κλύουσα πάταγον συνάμα

while τ has

ποταίνιον κλύουσα πάταγον ἅμα

In his earlier recension Triclinius would have been satisfied with the transmitted text; both in strophe and antistrophe his metrical views permitted him to find brachycatalectic trimeters. It is just possible, however, that in τ he read νεμόμεθ' (as he did later in T) in order to make the colon brachycatalectic; if so, F^{pc} forgot to correct the νεμόμεσθ' of F^{ac}. But in T Triclinius proceeded to give up the antispastic analysis and now regarded the cola as choriambic; further, strophic responsion now required critical intervention in the first foot of the strophe. The antistrophe here has a diiamb and therefore he interpolated μέν [8] to make up a pentasyllabic diiamb ⏑⏑–⏑–. Then he regarded the second foot in both cola as another pentasyllabic diiamb ⏑–⏑⏑⏑; finally the last foot in the acatalectic trimeter could only be restored if a syllable was added in the colon of the strophe. This difficulty he overcame by writing σύναμα; probably this reading was suggested to him by the gloss σύν written above ἅμα in the Thoman MSS (it is also in F and Rb).

In the last colon in T l. 235 of the strophe, he wrote ταῦτα instead of τάδε.[9] On the analysis in τ

τί τάδε νέμεσις στυγεῖ

this correction would have been impossible; anyway, he had no reason to correct because the colon as it stood could be regarded as a hemiolion

⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑– ⏑–

and the colon in the antistrophe l. 241

τίμιον ἕδος ἱκόμαν

was also a hemiolion. In T, where the analysis is choriambic, these cola are regarded as catalectic dimeters; the first foot in the colon in the antistrophe will then be a pentasyllabic choriamb –⏑⏑⏑⏑.

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[8] As he did elsewhere, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 858 (Turyn, *Euripides* 189 f.), Aesch. *Ag.* 1095 (cf. below p. 149), Pind. *Pyth.* I, 78 (see Turyn's apparatus *ad loc.*).

[9] This easy correction appears elsewhere in Triclinius' work, cf. Soph. *El.* 230 (Aubreton 169).

In that case the strophe will need to be corrected; one of the short syllables has to be made into a long one. The result

τί ταῦτα νέμεσις στυγεῖ

in T Triclinius called a pentasyllabic diiamb. There (f. 52r) he also added a scholium to advocate his own changes in the text: οὕτω χρὴ γράφειν διὰ μὲν θεῶν καὶ τί ταῦτα νέμεσις στυγεῖ· οὕτω γὰρ οἰκείως ἔχει τὰ κῶλα πρὸς τὰ μέτρα. Though he does not say so explicitly there can hardly be any doubt that he is himself the author of these innovations. The phrasing of the scholium also indicates the object of the readings advertised. While the correction of ἀκρόπολιν into ἀκρόπτολιν clearly was made for reasons of responsion, the other two corrections are more ambiguous. The expression οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ μέτρα with Triclinius normally indicates colometrical correction. In our case he wrote διὰ μὲν θεῶν and τί ταῦτα νέμεσις στυγεῖ in order to achieve appropriate cola; in the first case to avoid a fourth paeon (which would then have to correspond with a diiamb), in the second case to avoid an obvious monstrosity, a pentasyllabic choriamb or diiamb consisting of five short syllables.

My point that οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ μέτρα indicates colometrical correction is obvious when we compare similar expressions in T. Usually he says οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ κῶλα τῆς στροφῆς / ἀντιστροφῆς when the object of a correction is the restoration of strophic responsion, but the fact that both πρὸς τὸ μέτρον and πρὸς τὸ κῶλον are found, shows that Triclinius distinguished between two different types of corrections, the types I call colometrical and antistrophic respectively, cf. p. 79 above.

Before leaving this first section of strophes and antistrophes in τ I wish to discuss a scholium on *Sept.* 203-207 which I have not mentioned in the preceding. On these lines we have in F^{pc} the remark ὅμοια χρὴ εἶναι τοῖς ἑξῆς τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα. By τοῖς ἑξῆς Triclinius probably means the antistrophe ll. 211-215, though it could be argued that he is speaking of the brachycatalectic trimeters of the whole of the remaining section ll. 203-244. Irrespective of this ambiguity it is important to realize that we find this remark on ll. 203-207, which are the lines most thoroughly changed in τ as against the pre-Triclinian colometry. The remark is evidence that the Thoman basis of τ, which we deduced from the scholium on l. 229, must in these lines have been very much like LF^{ac}. In connection with this note I want to draw attention to the

term ὅμοια. In T Triclinius will often use the expressions ὅμοια κῶλα or ἰσόμετρα κῶλα as he does in τ; but in T he means that the cola are in strophic correspondence of the exact syllabic type, cf. e.g. the T scholium on *Sept.* 239-241: (ἡ ἀντιστροφὴ) κώλων ἐστὶν ὁμοίων γ' . . . πλὴν τὸ μὲν α' κῶλον ἔχει τὸν β' πόδα διίαμβον (instead of both the first and second foot). This exact syllabic responsion is, as we have seen, not implied by the expression ὅμοια κῶλα in τ. There ὅμοια (and its equivalent ἰσόμετρα) κῶλα can only be applied to the *length* of the cola. What he means in τ by ἰσόμετρα can be seen from the scholium on *Sept.* 686 (cf. plate I): ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα γ', τὰ δύο τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἡμιόλιον. ἔοικε δὲ στροφῆι· ἰσόμετρα δέ εἰσι τοῖς προρρηθεῖσι εἰ καὶ πλείους συλλαβὰς ἔχει. Elsewhere in τ he does not distinguish between ὅμοια and ἰσόμετρα κῶλα.[10]

Since Triclinius at first did not distinguish strophes and antistrophes in the choral songs, our next case in the *Septem* of strophe and antistrophe in τ occurs in the long section of *Redepaare* ll. 417-421 = 452-456.

Here Triclinius also advocates antispastic analysis. On what basis he did so is rather uncertain, for the Thoman MSS are not colometrically identical.[11] I shall therefore refrain from guessing at

[10] In his final commentaries Triclinius also employs these terms ὅμοια and ἰσόμετρα somewhat inconsistently. To judge from two cases in the scholia on Sophocles, *Ajax*, the terms would seem more or less equivalent; at *Aj.* 946 he says that the antistrophe ll. 946-49 consists of κώλων ὁμοίων . . .ε' ἤτοι ἰσομέτρων (on ἤτοι cf. Holzinger, *Vorstudien* 76). Again at *Aj.* 955 the lines 955-960 consist of κώλων ὁμοίων . . . η' ἤτοι ἰσομέτρων. At *Sept.* 626 he says that the cola ll. 626-630 compared to the strophe are ὅμοια as well as ἰσόμετρα. One would *a priori* think that if the cola were ὅμοια they would also be ἰσόμετρα, and that the characterization of the cola *Sept.* 626-630 as ὅμοια would be enough. Cf. also Eur. *Or.* 195 and the scholia on Aristophanes, *Nub.* 277-278 in *Vat. gr.* 1294 f. 41v (omitted in *Holkham gr.* 88): ὅμοιον καὶ ἰσόμετρον ὀφείλει εἶναι τῶι τῆς ἀντῴδης τρίτωι κώλωι. However, sometimes ἰσόμετρα alone is used to describe the cola of the antistrophe, cf. e.g. *Prom.* 144, 178; *Sept.* 452, 521; Soph. *Ant.* 117, 147, 823 (these are the only examples in the commentary on Sophocles); Eur. *Or.* 1266 and 1273. The terms have nothing to do, it seems, with syllabic or colometrical correspondence.

[11] Of the MSS used by me F^{ac} divides the cola in the strophe as follows: εὐτυχεῖν ||, πρόμαχος ||, αἱματηφόρους ||; in the antistrophe ἐπεύχεται ||, ἐπισχέθοι ||, πωλικῶν θ' || G divides after εὐτυχεῖν, πόλεως, αἱμα- and μόρους in the strophe and after ἐπεύχεται, ἐπισχέθοι, δόμον and ὑπερκόμπωι in the antistrophe. Finally L divides after θεοί, πρόμαχος, αἱματηφόρους in the strophe and is identical with F^{ac} in the antistrophe.

In M the cola are arranged with colon-end after εὐτυχεῖν, πόλεως, τρέμωι (sic) and μόρους in the strophe and after ἐπεύχεται, ἐπισχέθοι, δόμον and ἑδωλίων in the antistrophe.

the source of his analysis in τ; at any rate he divided these lines into four brachycatalectic trimeters (possibly he simply generalized from the preceding strophes and antistrophes *Sept.* 203 ff.) followed —as before—by a hemiolion. The result is an arrangement identical with that in Page's Oxford edition and other modern editions. Thus Triclinius, in spite of his mistaken analysis in antispasts, was able to arrange the passage correctly. In details of text, however, his analysis led him seriously wrong. To start with the most interesting case it is obvious that the fourth colon

-φόρους μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων

and

θ' ἐδωλίων ὑπερκόμπωι

cannot be brachycatalectic trimeters. Two syllables at least are missing in each, and to provide these necessary supplements Triclinius simply interpolated ἐμῶν in the strophe, and φρενὶ after ὑπερκόμπωι in the antistrophe. The motive for these interpolations is not responsion, for the cola respond *without* them as well as *with* them; what Triclinius was trying to establish was simply the structure he had found in the preceding section ll. 203 ff., viz. a number of brachycatalectic trimeters followed by a hemiolion. This is a case of *Systemzwang* if ever there was one. Another interesting point about these supplements is that they are his own products. They have not been recorded from other MSS than F and they are not to be found in T. They are revealed as Triclinian because they have been inserted—not without difficulty—by F^{pc} and thus taken from τ.[12] These interpolations may be thought very simple—as indeed they are—and yet they are appreciably different from the stock-in-trade interpolations made elsewhere in τ and T. I do not wish at this stage of our analysis to enter into the discussion of what we are to expect from Byzantine scholars, and

[12] F^{ac} clearly at l. 420 had ὑπὲρ φίλων ὀλομένων as in the other MSS. F^{pc} erased ίλων and thus managed to make room for φίλων ἐμῶν by writing the case endings above the line. The same manoeuvre took place at l. 455. F^{ac} had ὑπερκόμπω δορί; F^{pc} seems to have erased πω δο to make room for φρενί, and he wrote πω and νι above the line, rewriting δο in δορί in tiny letters. There are visible traces of the original F^{ac} π in ὑπερκόμπω. I also take the opportunity to point out that F^{pc} deleted the θ' l. 454 and rewrote it in the next line before ἐδωλίων (for the F^{ac} colometry compare the preceding note).

Triclinius in particular, in the way of emendation. However, I do wish to emphasize that these interpolations must be his own, and that this fact should warn us against underestimating what he had been capable of doing already in τ. The difference between Triclinius in τ and Triclinius in T is not a difference in audacity of emendation, it is a difference in metrical sophistication.

In T he rejects these interpolations because there he has no use for them. He keeps his τ analysis of the colometry with the modifications brought about by the rejection of the interpolations and the different analysis of the antispasts. Since there are in these lines no examples of the peculiar antispasts –⏑⏑–⏑, Triclinius in T upholds the antispastic analysis, though now the cola formerly called brachycatalectic become catalectic. In τ Triclinius did not want to admit paeons; naturally a colon in T like l. 417 of the form ⏑––⏑–⏑⏑⏑–⏑– was regarded as catalectic consisting of an antispast, a paeon I and a cretic. In τ paeons never appear though they are one of the standard metra in Hephaestion; this is one of the main differences between the metrical practice in the two recensions. In τ Triclinius analysed this colon as ⏑––⏑ –⏑⏑⏑– ⏑– probably regarding the second foot as a resolved epitrite. There is an interesting scholium in τ on ll. 417-421 which should be compared to that on ll. 203-207; in this scholium as before he rejects choriambic analysis: ἴσθι ὅτι οἱ χορίαμβοι οὐκ ἐν τάξει αὐτῶν κεῖνται, ἀλλὰ προστιθεμένης καὶ ἑτέρας συλλαβῆς γίνονται πεντασύλλαβοι καὶ ἀποτελοῦσιν ἐπιτρίτους· ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ λοιποί.

Now in τ there are no choriambs in the lines on which the scholium has been written; they appear first in the next pair ll. 481-485 = 521-525 and there we have have epitrites if we follow the scholium and add a syllable to the choriambs e.g. in l. 484

μαινομέναι φρενὶ τώς νιν ζεὺς νεμέ-

analysing

–⏑⏑–⏑ ⏑––– ⏑⏑

These cola we shall now consider in detail. The pre-Triclinian colometry (MGLF^{ac}) is, apart from a few aberrations in the individual MSS, sufficiently clear. There are five cola divided in the strophe after εὐτυχεῖν, δυστυχεῖν (L, however, divides after δυσ- and F^{ac} after τοῖσι δέ), πόλει and τώς νιν, and in the antistrophe after ἔχοντα, δέμας, βροτοῖσι τε καὶ (L and M divide after τε) and θεοῖσι.

In τ Triclinius follows this arrangement as far as it can be adapted to his system of a number of brachycatalectic trimeters followed by a hemiolion. To make the first colon a brachycatalectic trimeter in strophe and antistrophe he changed the text of the Thoman MSS in two places. Probably l. 481 stood before him in this form

ἐπεύχομαι δὴ τῶδε μὲν εὐτυχεῖν

and in the antistrophe he read before correction l. 521

πέποιθα τὸν διὸς ἀντίτυπον ἔχοντα

He corrected the text in the strophe by writing τάδε in agreement with the old MSS;[13] thus he produced a suitable colon ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –. In the antistrophe he deleted ἔχοντα and interpolated δὴ after πέποιθα.[14] These interferences with the text stand out clearly in F; in l. 481 the original reading τῶδε in F^{ac} is revealed by traces of the circumflex. In the antistrophe ἔχοντα has been deleted by dots written above the word, and δὴ could only be inserted by erasing θα in πέποιθα; the α was then added above a very thin and tiny θ rewritten *in linea*.

These corrections establish brachycatalectic trimeters of the type acknowledged in τ. There is no reason to think that they were made for the sake of strophic responsion of the syllabic type so dear to Triclinius in T.

In the next colon of the strophe l. 482 the MSS GLF^{ac}[15] had

ἰὼ πρόμαχε τῶν ἐμῶν δόμων τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν

In τ Triclinius deleted ἰώ, as it appears from F; F^{pc} has written a large π in πρόμαχε to fill up the space where ἰώ was once written by F^{ac}. This is not enough to yield a brachycatalectic trimeter; so I presume that F^{pc} forgot to take into account τ's deletion of τῶν and the reading πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν. In T τῶν is omitted; the result is, on the analysis used in τ: a brachycatalectic trimeter of the structure met

[13] For the MS readings here I refer to Page's apparatus and Dawe, *Collation* 268; more detailed reports of the Byzantine MSS are in Turyn's list of Thoman readings (*Aeschylus* 89) and Bryson, *Contributions* 59. I need not point out, since it appears from what follows here, that Turyn's report of F is incorrect. Apart from F^{pc} the only manuscripts to have τάδε for τῶδε are the *veteres*.

[14] In Page's apparatus δὴ is correctly given as a Triclinian reading which occurs only in F^{pc} and T. In Murray and Wilamowitz δὴ is claimed to be a Thoman interpolation.

[15] Also in Cambridge *Nn.* 3.17.B (Lh) and C, *Par. gr.* 2785 (Dawe, *Collation* 268).

with elsewhere in τ ⏑⏑⏑–⏑ –⏑⏑⏑– ⏑–. This is, I think, a clear case of correction implied by the scholia but overlooked by F^{pc} when copying τ's *poetic* text.

All these corrections are of a type well known in Triclinius' work: elimination of words thought superfluous or insertion of fairly empty particles. For the latter type we may adduce similar instances of an inserted δή in Soph. *Aj.* 384 and Eur. *Phoen.* 584. The text at l. 481 in the strophe ἐπεύχομαι δή probably gave him the idea of what to insert in the antistrophe.

If Triclinius at an early stage of his work on Aeschylus had endeavoured to restore exact syllabic responsion in the way he often does in T, it is surely remarkable that not a word is said about such responsion in the τ scholia. Only in a single case to which we shall come in due course, do we find a note of the type so familiar from T: περισσὸν πρὸς τὸ κῶλον τῆς στροφῆς / ἀντιστροφῆς. This single example occurs at *Eum.* 923 ff. and if I may say so in advance, it does not easily lend support to the view that syllabic responsion was the object of the metrical work in τ, not even in these few passages. The numerous comparisons between the cola and between the single feet in the cola of the strophes and antistrophes are also conspicuously absent in τ. Here we have reason to think that his object was quite different, namely to reduce the sections where he found strophes and antistrophes to a simple scheme of a number of identical cola. This kind of Procrustean uniformity cannot be found there.

I have to emphasize this difference between τ and T, because Triclinius in his later work argues that the innovations which we have now seen to be present already in τ were made for reasons of strophic responsion. On the strophe we have in T (f. 60r) the following scholium:

> οὕτω χρὴ γράφειν ταῦτα τὰ κῶλα τάδε μὲν εὐτυχεῖν καὶ πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν δόμων ἵν' οἰκείως ἔχῃ πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς· τὸ γὰρ ἰὼ περισσὸν ὂν ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ . . .

Similarly on the antistrophe he says:

> οὐ χρὴ γράφειν ἐνταῦθα ἀντίτυπον ἔχοντα· περισσὸν γὰρ ὂν τὸ ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ τῆς στροφῆς κῶλον ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. . . (f. 61v)

It is true that Triclinius in τ deleted ἰώ and ἔχοντα because both words were superfluous; they were so because both strophe and

antistrophe had to conform with his very rigid scheme of brachycatalectic trimeters. In T, however, this is different. He maintained as in the preceding pair the antispastic analysis of the cola, but now strophe and antistrophe were analysed as catalectic trimeter, acatalectic trimeter, acatalectic trimeter, acatalectic dimeter, catalectic trimeter. In other words we find the mature Triclinius returning to the colometry he changed in his early work. His revision in T of the earlier τ colometry may also have been motivated by his recognition of a familiar colon, the prosodiac in l. 484 and in l. 524:

μαινομέναι φρενὶ τῶς νιν = δαροβίοισι θεοῖσιν

His endeavour to effect syllabic responsion can be seen in T as against τ; in l. 483 he reads πτόλει [16] and in l. 523 he correspondingly reads βροτοῖσι καί.[17] Both these corrections are of a type he could easily have made in τ if syllabic responsion had been his object.

The T scholia quoted above need some clarification on another and quite different point, the critical terminology. Before advancing any further in our analysis of Triclinius' work on Aeschylus, we should discuss these problems because they have a very important bearing on our judgment of a central point in Triclinius' critical work in general.

We have seen that the two deletions, that of ἔχοντα l. 521 and that of ἰώ l. 482 are claimed as his own in the scholia. In both cases he says that he deleted the words himself: ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. And in fact no other MSS than T and F^{pc} delete the words in question. On the other hand Triclinius does not claim the reading τάδε instead of τῶδε as his own. It stands to reason that Triclinius distinguished between his own emendations and those he took over from his manuscript source(s). This has been disputed in modern discussion of Triclinius. Dawe, *Collation* 61 has pointed out a

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[16] This reading is carried by MΔIQ and G besides T; apart from the dubious G, this correct text seems exclusively a feature of the old tradition.

[17] Besides T only O omits the τε before καί. It is impossible to decide whether Triclinius hit upon this remedy himself or took it from a manuscript source.

In order that the reader may see for himself how Triclinius revised his τ colometry in T I give the scholium in T (f. 61v) on the antistrophe which is omitted in Dindorf:

+ ἡμέτερον· πέποιθα δή· ἡ ἀντιστροφὴ αὕτη τῆς ἄνω ἐστὶ στροφῆς ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπεύχομαι δή. καὶ αὕτη γὰρ κώλων ἐστὶν ἰσομέτρων ε'· τὸ μέντοι πρῶτον κῶλον τὸν β' ἔχει πόδα χορίαμβον, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀνάπαιστον διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. ἐπὶ τῶι τέλει μόνη παράγραφος.

number of cases where the innovations claimed by Triclinius to be his own in fact already were in the pre-Triclinian MSS, and he therefore concludes that Triclinius does not claim originality by using the expression ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ 'any more than, for example, a modern scholar would . . . if he said in a commentary "I reject line 7 of the *Agamemnon*" '.

Though Dawe rightly emphasized that many 'Triclinian' emendations can be found in pre-Triclinian MSS, he can only carry his point if it can be established that Triclinius knew these MSS. In a number of cases there can be no serious doubt that he did so. For example Turyn, Bryson and Dawe all point out that he must have known the common source of the manuscripts Q (*Par. gr.* 2884) and K (*Laur. conv. soppr.* 11). We shall have ample opportunity to verify this observation and strengthen it with new evidence. This common source carried some of the innovations claimed as Triclinius' own. Let us, however, consider the T scholium on *Sept.* 918 (f. 74v). Here Triclinius says that the word ἐτύμως was not to be found in one of the old manuscripts and that he had therefore deleted it: οἱ γράφοντες οὐ φιλογαθῆς ἐτύμως οὐ καλῶς γράφουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἔν τινι τῶν παλαιῶν. διὸ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ.

No manuscript known to us (except F^{pc} and T) omits the word; still Triclinius says that he had old manuscript authority for the deletion. Thus on one hand we have the fact that Triclinius distinguishes between innovations made by himself and innovations found in the manuscripts, on the other hand we see equally obviously that he sometimes says that he himself deleted (or corrected) even if he knows MSS containing the reading he claims for himself.

This difficulty can only be solved in one way: Triclinius must have distinguished between *old* and *Thoman* MSS. The innovations claimed by him as his own by the notes ἐξεβλήθη or διωρθώθη παρ' ἐμοῦ are innovations as against the Thoman MSS. This conclusion is borne out by evidence of a different kind. Where does Triclinius use these critical expressions? In Aeschylus they are only found in the scholia on the triadic plays; in the scholia on the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides* Triclinius never says that he emends or rejects anything, though we would not be prepared to admit that he had MS authority for every reading in these plays. A good many of the peculiar readings in these plays in T must be his property. Now we have good reason to think that there was no Thoman text of these

two plays—since there is no commentary—and therefore we can conclude that Triclinius never uses these expressions there, simply because he only had old MSS—or very probably one old MS—at his disposal, the old source I call ψ along with Turyn. Thus when Triclinius emends or rejects something explicitly himself, he does so on the basis of the Thoman text.

I mentioned above an evident case of Triclinius' claiming as his own a reading found on his own testimony in an old MS. There is a further example at *Sept.* 959. There he says in T (f. 76r) that ἐν αἷς ἐθείνοντο was superfluous and that he therefore deleted the words himself, though it would seem that he did so on old manuscript authority:

> εὕρηται γὰρ μόλις ἔν τινι τῶν ἄγαν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων οὑτωσὶ κείμενα (sc. τὰ κῶλα)

There may be several other instances of his claiming innovations as his own, though these innovations are in fact derived from old MSS. In some cases we can see that he followed old MSS in τ but only mentioned metrical arguments in T (cf. below on *Sept.* 721 and 885 pp. 196 and 167). We are thus led to think that in T he generally only referred to his own metrical reasons and did not mention MS authority even if such MS authority supported his metrical arguments. Contrariwise we may suppose that he only resorts to MS authority when he has no metrical arguments. It is instructive to see that in the *Prometheus* all references to manuscript authority occur in ordinary dialogue sections; in no case does he refer to MSS in his textual notes on the lyrical parts. In the *Septem*, MS authority is only mentioned, besides the instances adduced above, at 151 where no metrical argument can decide between the variant readings πανδίκως and πανδίκους. In the last play of the triad, the *Persae*, he refers to MSS at 632 and 1025 both of which are in a lyric section. The correction πέρας for πέρσαις is no doubt necessary in Triclinius' view; he made it already in τ but he does not claim it as his own, since he only says χρὴ γράφειν. However, the reasons are metrical: ἵν' εἴη τὸ κῶλον ἐφθημιμερὲς ὡς ἀποθετικόν· οὕτω γὰρ εὕρηται καὶ ἔν τινι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων (Massa Positano 52, 11 ff.). Even though he may have preferred it simply on MS authority he adds the expert metrical explanation. *Pers.* 1025 is similar; the MS authority is supported by a metrical argument. In all other cases he does not mention MS support for his innovations.

I may sum up in this way: Only in his work on plays where he had Thoman MSS does Triclinius refer to his own innovations, and there his innovations are claimed as his own as against the Thoman MSS. In his work on these texts he also distinguishes between old MSS and the vulgate MSS. But in the majority of cases we cannot be certain whether Triclinius was familiar with old authorities when he only adduces metrical reasons in T. In a few cases we can see from τ that readings explicitly supported there on MS authority, are advanced in T on metrical arguments only.

If this is true it will have some far-reaching consequences for our view of the extent of Thomas' work, not only in Aeschylus but also in Sophocles and Euripides.

Let me adduce an example of the way in which our results from the analysis of Triclinius' work on Aeschylus may be used in the other dramatists.

There is a scholium in *Angel. gr.* 14 (f. 151r), the Triclinian Euripides, on *Phoen.* 1282 where Triclinius deletes the line with the words:

> οὐ καλῶς τιθέασιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἦν δ' ὑστερήσῃς οἰχόμεσθα κατθανῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦτο τὰ κρείττω τῶν ἀντιγράφων. διὰ τοῦτο ἐξεβλήθη καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἀναρμόστως κείμενον.

Triclinius explicitly acknowledges that he was preceded by better MSS; he could not use metrical arguments. But the deletion of the line has been claimed by Turyn, *Euripides* 178 to have been made also in the second Thoman edition because the MSS Zb^{ac} (*Vat. gr.* 51) and Zu (Upsala, *cod. gr.* 15) omit the line; and both these MSS are considered by Turyn to be representatives of the second Thoman edition. The very problematic nature of the second Thoman recension need not be discussed here,[18] but if I am right,

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[18] As stated elsewhere (cf. p. 8 n. 12 and Chapt. IV note 109) I strongly doubt the existence of a second Thoman recension of Aeschylus as well as of Euripides and Sophocles. I do not feel qualified to say anything on the subject of a possible second Thoman recension of Aristophanes (cf. Koster, Mnem. Ser. 4 17, 1964, 337 ff.) but I do not think the situation in Aristophanes can be much different. I cannot treat these problems adequately in the present context since they involve a scrutiny of the Thoman scholia on the dramatists. I do not believe that the problems can be solved from analysis of the poetic texts in the various MSS; if Thomas made a second edition of any of the dramatists the differences between the first and the second edition have to be ascertained in the Thoman commentaries, and not in the poetic text which Thomas probably only touched superficially. I agree with those

Triclinius would *not* say ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἡμῶν, supporting this claim by MS authority, if the deletion had already taken place in the Thoman MSS. The truth is, however, that neither Zb nor Zu are pure Thoman MSS; both MSS are Thomano-Triclinian.[19] Turyn asserts that by τὰ κρείττω τῶν ἀντιγράφων Triclinius may have meant 'a manuscript of the second Thoman recension'; I do not think this hypothesis can be seriously upheld. Though I would not claim that the second Thoman recension is proved to be non-existent from this case, I should think that further belief in this theory is imperilled.

In Sophocles our approach may also lead to interesting results. While there are a great many critical notes on the tetradic plays—on which plays we know that Thomas wrote a commentary—only one can be found on the remaining three plays. Our solitary example is at *O.C.* 1491 (*Par. gr.* 2711, f. 186r):

> ἐλλιπὴς δὲ ἦν κατά τε τὸ πρῶτον κῶλον καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον· διὸ καὶ διωρθώθη παρ' ἐμοῦ.

It can hardly be accidental that the *Oedipus Coloneus* is the only play outside the tetrad in which we have substantial documentary

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scholars who hold Thomas to be a commentator rather than a critic. I hope in a forthcoming treatment of the Thoman scholia on Aeschylus to return to this problem; meanwhile, we may expect a contribution from Mr. Bjarne Schartau on the Thoman recension(s) of Euripides.

[19] On Zb see p. 81 n. 56. For Zu I refer to the description in Turyn, *Euripides* 185 f.; Turyn noticed that Zu seemed related to Zb. There is, however, striking proof of the Triclinian connections of Zu. Bjarne Schartau has already pointed out the fact that Zu carries the Thomano-Triclinian version of the argument to the *Phoenissae* cf. *Observations* II, 26; but there is also on f. 10r a regular metrical scholium on *Hec.* 59-215 in the Triclinian style:

> ἡ μονοστροφικὴ αὕτη τῶν προσώπων εἴσθεσις καὶ ἡ ἑξῆς διπλῆ κώλων ἐστὶν ἀναπαιστικῶν διμέτρων ἀκαταλήκτων καὶ καταληκτικῶν εἰς δισύλλαβον καὶ ἐφθημιμερῶν καὶ πενθημιμερῶν ρνς' ὧν τελευταῖος ξυντυχία κρείσσων ἐκύρησεν· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτοις καὶ τροχαικά· ἐσημειώθη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ πενθημιμερῆ καὶ ἔνθα ἐμπίπτηι ἂν ἀναπαιστικὴ βάσις ἐκτὸς κατ' εὐθεῖαν τῶν κώλων· τὰ δὲ δίμετρα εἰσὶν ἀσημείωτα διὰ τὸ πλείω εἶναι.

This scholium has no relation whatsoever to the analysis in *Angel. gr.* 14 (or to the Parma-Modena scholia). There can be no doubt that Triclinius is the author of this scholium but for the present I must leave this riddle. There is only one thing that I should wish to emphasize: if this scholium is Triclinian, we have here the only example outside of the τ scholia of the term διπλῆ used about a metrical section in the whole of Triclinian commentaries on tragedy. Cf. above p. 108 ff. with n. 106.

On f. 87r (*Phoen.* 101 ff.) there are notes ἴαμβοι on ll. 106-108, 117-118, 122-123 and 125-126. On l. 102 we have [τέλο]ς τῶν ἰάμ[β]ων (for this type of note cf. p. 94 n. 73).

evidence of Thomas' work. The heading of the argument to this play in the Triclinian MSS contains a direct reference to Thomas' work on the play (*Par.* 2711 f. 148v, *Ven. Marc. gr.* 470 f. 180r):

> ὑπόθεσις τοῦ ἐπὶ κωλωνῶι οἰδίποδος· διωρθώθη δὲ καὶ αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαγίστρου.

This is, in my opinion, evidence that Thomas did not comment upon the whole heptad, but only the five plays *Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Rex, Antigone* and *Oedipus Coloneus*. How and when he did so I do not claim to be able to say; he may have made two editions, with the *Oedipus Coloneus* included in the second.

In fact the case of the second Thoman recension of Sophocles rests, as it does to a large extent in Euripides, on MSS either directly stemming from Triclinius or influenced by Triclinius.[20]

After this necessary digression we shall return to the analysis of Aeschylus in τ and T. We arrive at the last pair of strophe and antistrophe in the Spy scene ll. 563-567 = 626-630. As before, the rigid scheme of brachycatalectic trimeters + a hemiolion is employed in the earlier recension. Here it is possible to state with reasonable certainty how the traditional colometry was modified by Triclinius in his attempt to establish a pattern similar to that of the preceding stanzas. The pre-Triclinian MSS agree to a very large extent especially as regards the antistrophe ll. 626-630: GLF^{ac} and M all divide these lines into five cola with colon-end after λιτάς, εὐτυχεῖν / εὐτυχῆι, τρέποντες and ἔκτοθεν. In the strophe there is considerable disagreement. F^{ac} and L divide into four cola, G and M into five; and inside the two groups there are differences.[11] We may reasonably suppose that Triclinius began with the antistrophe. There he found that in order to make four brachycatalectic trimeters + a hemiolion out of these lines it was necessary to place colon-end in the third colon after ἐπι- in ἐπιμόλους and in the fourth colon after βαλών. In the strophe he divided after στηθέων

[20] Apart from the definitely post-Triclinian *Par. gr.* 2787 (Zn in Sophocles) which carries Triclinian interpolations (cf. Dietz 55), the other representatives of the second Thoman recension of Sophocles are manuscripts connected with Triclinius: Zg, *Laur.* 32, 2; Zo, *Laur. conv. soppr.* 172 + *Vat. Pal.* 287; Zp, *Ven. Marc. gr.* 617 on which cf. above p. 9 f.

[21] Colon-ends in M are: στηθέων ||, ἵσταται ||, μεγαληγόρων ||, and θεοί ||. In G: στηθέων ||, ἵσταται ||, μεγαληγόρων || and εἴθε γάρ ||. In L:στηθέων ||, ἵσταται || and ἀνδρῶν ||. In F^{ac} στηθέων ||, μεγάλα || and ἀνδρῶν ||.

(MGLF^{ac}), ἵσταται (MGL), ἀνο- and θεοί; in the last two cola he did not have MS authority for his divisions.

The two first cola in strophe and antistrophe probably stood before Triclinius in τ in this form

ἱκνεῖται λόγος διὰ στηθέων
τριχὸς δ' ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἵσταται

in the strophe, thus making up two perfect brachycatalectic trimeters according to the τ analysis. The antistrophe, however, seems to have had:

κλύοντες θεοὶ δικαίους λιτὰς
ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ' ὡς πόλις εὐτυχεῖ

According to Triclinius' own analysis the second colon would be catalectic. To mend this fault he wrote:

ἐμοὺς εὖ τελεῖτε πόλιν εὐτυχεῖν [22]

in the second colon, with λόγους in the first instead of λιτὰς. As far as I know, no MSS except T and F^{pc} exhibit l. 627 in this form [23] (in T, however, ἐμοὺς was dropped and ἐμὰς written in to go with the reinstated λιτὰς in the preceding line). It is instructive to see already in τ how far Triclinius was prepared to go with wholesale rewriting; if he did the same in the *Agamemnon* where we have no means of controlling him, our situation is, as Fraenkel feared, almost desperate. But one of the objects of the present study is to enable scholars to judge how far we can trust Triclinius in his early work,

[22] The τ readings here are clearly revealed by having been imported by F^{pc}. The dealings of F^{pc} have nearly effaced the F^{ac} readings, but on closer inspection it seems beyond doubt that in l. 626 λιτάς was the F^{ac} text. In l. 627 ἐμοὺς εὖ has been written to cover the space left where ἡμητέρας originally stood. Further -τε in τελεῖτε is clearly *in rasura*; the space between τελεῖτε and πόλιν in F reveals that something has been erased here. Finally F^{pc} corrected πόλις by writing a ν over the ς and added a ν after εὐτυχεῖ.

Page's statement in his apparatus that F has λόγους is incorrect. Even from a photograph one can see that λόγους is the F^{pc} reading. And the double points written over the ι in λιτάς by F^{ac} were not erased; they can still be seen. Moreover the awkward γ in λόγους reveals that this letter has replaced something else.

[23] It is to Hermann's credit that he saw were this text came from. He knew it solely from Robortello—a striking proof of this editor's use of F—and guessed the author of it: 'sed haec ipsa metrorum convenientia in tanto ceterorum librorum dissensu arguere videtur istam lectionem emendatori alicui, fortasse Triclinio deberi' (on 607-608 H.).

and possibly also to help us to see under which circumstances he is likely to have interfered with the transmitted text.

Though the rewriting of the line yields exact responsion, we have no reason to suspect that in τ he intended anything else but correct cola. The T scholium (f. 65r) would seem to lend support to this view. There he says that we should write thus ἵν' οἰκείως ἔχει πρὸς τὸ μέτρον. He does not say πρὸς τὸ κῶλον τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς.

Having established the three first cola in strophe and antistrophe, he was faced in the fourth colon with great difficulties. In the strophe he was now left with

-σίων ἀνδρῶν εἴθε οἱ θεοί

and with

-μόλους πύργων δ' ἔκτοθεν βαλὼν

in the antistrophe, because the last colon had to be a hemiolion. Both these cola are hypercatalectic dimeters. Accordingly he interpolated γὰρ ἂν in the strophe after εἴθε,[24] and τῶνδ' in the antistrophe after πύργων,[25] the result of which is two ordinary brachycatalectic trimeters. Incidentally this case shows that he did not care for exact responsion at this stage: the second foot in the strophe is now pentasyllabic against a tetrasyllabic one in the antistrophe. Several MSS exhibit a reading which might have been preferred by Triclinius for pure reasons of strophic responsion viz. εἴθε γὰρ θεοί which is in ΔLcKPQG; he did not accept it nor anything else that would have yielded exact responsion. Instead he made what seems to be an interpolation of his own, since it has not been recorded elsewhere.

In T he followed his earlier colometry in the first two cola; in the third he chose to divide after κλύων in the strophe and after γᾶς in the antistrophe, so as to have a hypercatalectic dimeter. In the fourth colon he again followed τ but rejected the earlier interpolations because they had only been necessary on the τ analysis in brachycatalectic trimeters. The antispastic analysis is upheld in T

[24] In F γὰρ ἂν has been added above the line by F^{pc}, who by a downward stroke from the γ indicated that the words belonged in the poetic text. Since γάρ is in several MSS (cf. below), among these Q and K, it is possible that Triclinius knew γάρ and that only the interpolation of ἄν should be laid at his door.

[25] F^{pc} interpolated τῶν by erasing the final ων in πύργων and adding these letters above the line. In the space thus obtained he wrote τῶνδ' in very tiny letters. The reading is not on record elsewhere.

in the first four cola since there are none of τ's strange choriambs here; in the former hemiolion we have one (–⏑⏑–⏑ ––) so this colon is now in T called a choriambic hephthemimer. Finally I wish to draw attention to the fact that τ in l. 626 to all appearances corrected λιτὰς into λόγους; this is highly likely because the only MSS to have the latter are M (where the word is suprascript in a second hand), Lh and Ya (a γράφεται by a second hand). Triclinius must therefore have imported λόγους into τ, which, as we have seen, must have been basically Thoman. The odd thing is that in T he returned to λιτὰς, an instance which shows the futility of supposing a linear development in Triclinius' textual criticism.[26]

In the scene ll. 686 ff., the dialogue between Eteocles and the chorus, Triclinius could not help seeing the regular change between iambic trimeters and lyric stanzas. So it is no wonder that he detected strophes and antistrophes here, subjecting the cola to the same Procrustean treatment that he had applied to the stanzas between the speeches in the preceding scene.

The first pair ll. 686-688 = 692-694 consists in τ of two brachycatalectic trimeters followed in the now familiar way by a hemiolion. The traditional colometry, here represented by M and G, divides into three cola with colon-end after μήτις σε and φερέτω in the strophe and after ἐξοτρύνει and τελεῖν in the antistrophe.[27] Working from the traditional basis Triclinius placed colon-end in τ after θυμοπλη- in the first colon of the strophe, corresponding with colon-end ἐξοτρύ||νει in the antistrophe.[28]

Further, colon-end was placed after κακοῦ in the strophe to agree with the traditional colometry in the antistrophe. The same arrangement was later taken over in T.

These colometrical manoeuvres were in τ accompanied by textual changes.

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[26] Such a linear development is the implicit basis for Koster's analysis of the Aristophanes recensions. Cf. above p. 96 ff.

[27] The close agreement between G and M seems proof that F^{ac} and L represent individual aberrations. F^{ac} is the worst offender; the three cola are written as two with division after θυμοπληθὺς and ἐξοτρύνει respectively. L has three cola and follows GM in the antistrophe; in the strophe, however, L divides after θυμοπληθὺς and κακοῦ δ'.

[28] To effect this colometry in F, F^{pc} transposed the last syllables in θυμοπληθὺς and ἐξοτρύνει to the following line, instead of dividing off these syllables from the rest of the words. The transpositions are revealed by the fact that the transposed syllables now protrude from the column of text in F. Cf. above p. 17 f.

First Triclinius deleted τί l. 686, probably in τ as now in F^{pc} by putting a row of dots above the word,[29] not to effect responsion but simply to reduce the line to the prescribed length ⏑⏑–⏑– ––⏑– ⏑–. Correspondingly in the antistrophe where he had before him

ὠμοδακής σ' ἄγαν ἵμερος ἐξοτρύ-

he wrote

ὠμοδακής σ' ἄγαν θυμὸς ἐξοτρύ- [30]

So he did mainly for the reason that he scanned ἄγαν as two short syllables which meant that the second foot would be faulty on the τ analysis. The innovation θυμός for ἵμερος is to be ascribed to Triclinius, since it is only found in F^{pc} and T. In T he gave up the antispastic analysis of the cola because in τ it was based on a faulty view of the metron –⏑⏑–⏑. As mentioned above, Triclinius in the later recension takes over the τ colometry; the cola are now described as two choriambic acatalectic trimeters followed by a catalectic dimeter. Our basic hypothesis that syllabic responsion was not sought in the earlier recension is supported by the fact that in T Triclinius effects responsion by a simple emendation,[31] while in τ he emends without creating responsion. In l. 686 T (f. 67r) has

ἐκμέμονας τέκνον μή τις σε θυμοπλη-

where ἐκμέμονας is devised to correspond with ὠμοδακής l. 692. This emendation is advertised in the scholium on 686:

> ἐκμέμονας χρὴ γράφειν οὐχὶ τί μέμηνας ἢ μέμονας· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κῶλον οἰκείως

The scholium is important evidence that emendations in Triclinius for metrical reasons are of two types: emendations devised to restore correct colometry and emendations for reasons of strophic responsion. In many cases—perhaps in the majority of metrical

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[29] Cf. Dawe, *The MSS* 39 and my plate 1. However, I must correct Dawe on a detail in his report; I cannot believe that η above (μέ)μον(ας) was put there by F^{pc}. It is a simple traditional variant and it is mentioned in the Thoman scholium in F^{ac} (cf. sch. B *Sept.* 686, Dindorf, *Scholia* 377, 29).

[30] The F^{ac} reading has to all practical purposes been effaced completely by the F^{pc} emendation θυμός. However, θυμός has obviously been written over an erasure, so I assume that θυμός is F^{pc} with ἵμερος as the obvious F^{ac} reading. Cf. above p. 17.

[31] On this common type of emendation see Dawe, *Collation* 52.

emendations, at least in T, both objects will be reached at the same time, but still Triclinius implies a difference with these words. In our case he obviously regards a paeon IV (reading τί μέμονας) and an ionic *a minore* (reading τί μέμηνας) as undesirable both in the choriambic metre and as corresponding with the pure choriamb in l. 692.

There was still a problem connected with his recognition of the choriambic metre here. For with his new reading ἐκμέμονας the colon of the strophe had now one syllable in excess. This difficulty he overcame by transposing σ' to follow ἄγαν

ὠμοδακὴς ἄγαν σε θυμὸς ἐξοτρύ-

This was done to make up a full acatalectic trimeter and accordingly we read in the scholium on 692 (f. 67r):

οὕτω γὰρ χρὴ τοῦτο γράφειν ὡς διωρθώθη παρ' ἡμῶν ἵν' οἰκείως ἔχηι πρὸς τὸ μέτρον

I must emphasize the wording of this scholium; the expression οἰκείως πρὸς τὸ μέτρον shows that the transposition had as its primary object the restoration of a correct colon.

The colometry of the second pair ll. 698-701 = 705-708 can be ascertained by the complete agreement between M and G; these MSS seem to represent the traditional arrangement while the differences in LF^{ac} on two points may be ascribed to Byzantine modification, though hardly intentional. MG agree in placing colon-end in the strophe after κεκλήση, οὐ- and χερῶν and after δαίμων, μεταλλακτός and πνεύματι in the antistrophe. Aberrations occur in LF^{ac} in the second colon of the strophe, where colon-end is placed after μελάναιγις, and in the third colon of the antistrophe with colon-end after θαλερωτέρωι.

On the basis of the MG agreement, we may be allowed to see how far Triclinius in τ modifies the colometry according to his analysis in brachycatalectic trimeters and a hemiolion.

Though unaware of the true metrical structure of these dochmiac lines he nevertheless put the colometry right. In the first colon he placed colon-end at κεκλή-,[32] following the traditional colometry in the antistrophe. In the second colon he also followed traditional

[32] In F, F^{pc} transposed ση from the end of l. 698 to the beginning of l. 699 where this addition now protrudes from the column of the text, cf. above p. 17. Similar transpositions have been made in the preceding pair from the first to the second colon in strophe and antistrophe ll. 686 and 692.

colometry both in strophe and antistrophe, while in the third colon he accepted the LF^ac arrangement in the antistrophe and the traditional one in the strophe. We are thus entitled to conclude that he probably produced an innovation at one place only, namely in the first colon of the strophe.

There seem to be no textual innovations here in τ. But apart from a doubtful case [33] it is hardly credible that Triclinius could have been satisfied in τ with the text as it now stands in F in l. 700

-κ εἶσι δόμον ἐριννύς οὔ τ' ἂν χερῶν

There is, however, in F—to all appearances by F^ac—a γράφεται variant on οὔ τ' ἂν χερῶν : γρ. ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν. Triclinius read this in the later recension, and we might suppose that F^pc did not correct the text *in linea* because of the F^ac variant which must have been the text in his exemplar, the earlier recension τ.[34]

T preserves the earlier colometry and changes again the analysis from antispasts to choriambs: three acatalectic trimeters and a catalectic dimeter. Apart from the above case of ὅταν, which I take to be only an apparent difference between τ and T, there is one textual innovation in T. In l. 700 T reads δόμων with M and Q, against δόμον in τ and the rest of the MSS, in order to make εἶσι δόμων correspond exactly with -λακτὸς ἴσως.[35]

There are no further cases of antistrophic analysis in the *Septem* in τ; in the next play, the *Persae*, there are only very few. We shall

[33] The correction of δειλός into κακός l. 698 can also be found in Thoman MSS and may thus have been in the Thoman basis of τ. As can be seen from Turyn's list of Thoman readings (*Aeschylus* 90) and Bryson, *Contributions* 60 κακός is in the *veteres* and a few Thoman (?) MSS (LcLhRb). It is pretty certain that κακός was not the original F^ac reading; the word has been entered over an erasure by F^pc. On the other hand, if δειλός was in the Thoman text used by Triclinius in τ, it had to be changed into κακός for metrical reasons. I do not exclude the possibility that κακός in the 'Thoman' MSS originally came from Triclinius. On Lc see chap. IV n. 109; on Rb see above n. 2.

[34] The reading ὅταν is, besides in M^ac F^γρ and T, also in Lh and Lc. As in the case of κακός at l. 698 (see preceding note) ὅταν in LhLc may be due to Triclinius, unless we have to do with an isolated preservation of an ancient reading.

Incidentally I may point out that in T ὅταν is supported by a scholium the wording of which suggests that the correction was introduced for colometrical reasons: μὴ δὲ οὔ τ' ἄν γράφε· οὐ γὰρ οἰκεῖον τῶι μέτρωι. This is the type of emendation usually made in τ.

[35] In view of the T note on δόμον (οὐ . . . ἁρμόζει τῶι μέτρωι) it cannot be excluded that δόμων was in fact already in τ (cf. the preceding note). But it does not seem necessary on the τ analysis of the colon.

now subject these to an analysis on the same lines as we have done in the *Septem*.

It is indeed unfortunate that the material available in this play is so slender in bulk; for in the *Persae* we are able to reach a much higher degree of certainty as to the text of τ, having both F and G as witnesses to text and colometry. As far as the scholia go, F is still the main, not to say the sole, witness, since G only exhibits a couple of scholia at the beginning of the play in the hand of Joannes Catrares. It would seem that F—as in the preceding play—only omits a few notes from τ, none of which are relevant for the study of the cases of strophic responsion.

We shall use M as a witness for the old colometry; since both G and F are Triclinian we include as explicit testimony to the pre-Triclinian colometry besides L some MSS not directly quoted in the *Septem*, but only used as an occasional control, namely X and Ya,[36] and as before the Thoman Rb.

As could be expected when we have to do with cola as short as those at *Pers.* 256 ff., there are great divergencies between the MSS. In the first pair ll. 256-259 = 262-265 only M and τ present between them some kind of agreement. Both MSS divide into four cola while Ya and L agree in taking the lines as two cola.[37] We may entertain the possibility that τ is based on the colometry exhibited in M. At any rate Triclinius took the stanza as three antispastic hemiolia and a penthemimer

ἄνια ἄνια κακὰ νεό-
κοτα καὶ δάι' αἶ αἶ
διαίνεσθε πέρσαι
τόδ' ἄχος κλύοντες

and correspondingly in the antistrophe he wrote

ἦ μακροβίοτος ὅδε
γέ τις αἰὼν ἐφάνθη
γεραιοῖς ἀκούειν
τόδε πῆμ' ἄελπτον

[36] On X, *Laur.* 31, 2 cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 30; on Ya, Vienna, *phil. gr.* 197 cf. Turyn, *op. cit.* 43, *Euripides* 162 and Hunger, *Katalog* I, 309.

[37] M and τ have the arrangement in four cola but diverge on where to place colon-end. The agreement between Ya and L may be considered significant: colon-end after αἶ αἶ and ἐφαάνθη. The same applies to X except that in the strophe this MS presents three cola because of the interpolation λυπηρὰ λυπηρά l. 256. Rb has three cola in the strophe, following M in the two first cola; the antistrophe has only two cola with division after αἰών.

In cola as short as these we can see with absolute certainty how he analysed the single feet, which is not always possible in the brachycatalectic trimeters in the *Septem*. We note for instance that the sequence in the last colon ⏑⏑–⏑–– is not regarded as a hemiolion but as a penthemimer. We can therefore conclude that Triclinius did not accept paeons in antispastic cola, but preferred to view the sequence ⏑⏑–⏑– as a pentasyllabic antispast. Similarly in the second colon the sequence ⏑⏑––⏑–– is not analysed as an ionic *a minore* and a bacchius, in which case we would have a catelectic dimeter. Triclinius calls the colon a hemiolion and takes ⏑⏑––⏑ as an antispast; possibly, as in the *Septem*, he would call it a (resolved fourth) epitrite (cf. above p. 126).

With reasonable certainty we can say that the colon-end after the first colon is an innovation by Triclinius in τ; in the text there are no changes, it seems, except for the very probable case in l. 264 ἐφάνθη where most Thoman MSS and a few *veteres* have ἐφαάνθη. Whether Triclinius had ἐφαάνθη in his Thoman basis or not, ἐφάνθη is of course necessary on his analysis. T reproduces exactly the text and colometry of τ in these lines. The curious τ analysis of the cola is rejected, and a different analysis is proposed instead. The first colon is regarded as a choriambic catalectic dimeter, the second predictably as an ionic catalectic dimeter and the third, which in τ is the only 'real' antispastic colon, is also in T called an antispastic hemiolion. The fourth colon with the inadmissible paeon is now seen as an ionic hemiolion with a paeon III, instead of an ionic as is usual in Triclinius' later work.

We may pass lightly over the second pair ll. 268-271 = 274-277. In τ Triclinius seems to have followed the colometry exhibited in M, which also is that accepted by modern editors (e.g. Mazon, Murray, Broadhead and Page).[38] In the later recension this colometry is upheld, with the usual changes in the analysis of the cola. In τ he took the cola as antispastic: a hemiolion, two acatalectic dimeters and a hephthemimer. Later, only the second colon was described as antispastic; the first colon (in τ and T a third epitrite

[38] M and the Triclinian MSS are the only MSS to arrange these cola correctly. Rb is correct in the antistrophe but in the strophe only three cola are discerned, with division after βέλεα and αἶαν. X has three cola, and the divisions are after παμμιγῆ and αἶαν in the strophe, and after πολυβαφῆ and φέρεσθαι in the antistrophe. L has two cola in the strophe with three in the antistrophe. Finally Ya divides into three cola: βέλεα ||, ἦλθεν || and σώματα ||, φέρεσθαι ||.

and an iamb [39] he labelled choriambic, while the last two cola were analysed as περιοδικά.[40]

In the third and last pair of strophe and antistrophe we find the only textual point of interest to occur in this section. Again M has the most consistent colometry: ll. 280-283 = 286-289 are divided into four cola each, with colon-end placed after βοάν, πέρσαις, παγκάκως in the strophe and after δαΐοις, πάρα and μάταν in the antistrophe. In the other pre-Triclinian MSS there are numerous divergencies, but the only important variations occur in the third colon of the strophe where Ya and Rb divide after ἔθεσσαν, and in the third colon of the antistrophe where X and Rb divide after ἔκτισαν. In τ Triclinius uses the same arrangement as in the preceding pair: hemiolion, two acatalectic dimeters and a hephthemimer. In order to effect this structure he made at least two colometrical innovations. In the strophe he put colon-end after δαΐοις in the second colon, and in the antistrophe he placed the corresponding colon-end at πολ-. At the same time he followed the YaRb arrangement in the third colon in the strophe, and the XRb arrangement in the antistrophe. This is, then, what he wrote in τ ll. 280-283:

ἴυζ' ἄποτμον βοὰν
δυσαιανῆ πέρσαις δαΐοις
ὡς πάντα παγκάκως ἔθεσαν
αἶ αἶ στρατοῦ φθαρέντος

and in ll. 286-289

στύγν' ἀθᾶναι δαΐοις
μεμνῆσθαί τοι πάρεισ' ὡς πολ-
λὰς περσίδων μάταν ἔκτισαν
εὔνιδας ἠδ' ἀνάνδρους.

Now in the first colon in the antistrophe the MSS except G and F have στυγναί γ' (or δ') ἀθᾶναι; this would be an acatalectic dimeter in the τ analysis. The colon in the strophe, however, was a hemiolion (scanning ἴυζ' as two short syllables), and so were the cola in the

[39] Reading ὀττοττοτοῖ. In view of the instability of these exclamations in our MSS, not very much can be inferred from the fact that the Triclinian MSS are the only MSS so far recorded that show precisely this reading (except for a γρ. in P, *Par. gr.* 2787). Incidentally this was the *textus receptus* from Victorius until Porson.

[40] On this colon cf. p. 164 n. 16 below.

preceding pair. We thus have reason to suppose that he preferred to make the structure of the second and the third pair identical, correcting instead the first colon in the strophe at l. 280 to effect a simpler structure in the third pair (3 acatalectic dimeters and a hephthemimer).[41] The *Systemzwang* which we observed in the *Septem* was the stronger impulse here. In the second colon all MSS except the Triclinian have not πάρεισ' but πάρα. This correction was not made for the sake of strophic responsion any more than the preceding one. Triclinius wrote in this way to avoid an ionic *a maiore* as the second foot in the antispastic colon.

In a number of respects it is instructive to see what happens in T where the earlier colometry is upheld. In the first place he returns to the traditional text in l. 286 because he has given up the idea of a similar structure in the second and third pair. He scans ἴυζ' correctly and regards the colon as an antispastic catalectic dimeter. In the second colon the early emendation is maintained (οὕτω διὰ τὸ μέτρον says the supralinear scholium); the analysis is still antispastic. In the third colon he gave up the view of -κάκως ἔθεσαν (⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑) as an antispast, and wrote the impossible ἔθεσσαν to get a hypercatalectic dimeter consisting of a third epitrite and a diiamb + anceps.

To formulate some conclusions: I think that I have given sufficient evidence to prove that the acknowledgement of the principle of strophic responsion in τ did not have any other effect than the establishment of similar cola in strophe and antistrophe. The exact syllabic responsion which we know from T and the other final editions, seems not to be found employed as a critical instrument in the earlier recension. On the contrary we find here an outspoken tendency towards systematization of the lyrical stanzas; they are to a very large extent made similar in structure. This can be seen most clearly in the *Septem*, where the whole of the strophes and the antistrophes is made to conform to the scheme of a number of brachycatalectic trimeters with a hemiolion as clausula. Neither in theory—in the abundant scholia in τ—nor in practice, do we find the slightest trace of the syllabic responsion so dear to our critic in his later work.

Another result of our investigation is that we have found that most of the emendations previously known only from T were made

[41] Triclinius probably read δαΐοις with synizesis in τ as he did in T.

already in the earlier recension, though they were made there on metrical views more or less rejected in T. We have also found a significant number of peculiar τ emendations where Triclinius in T follows the traditional text. This is an apposite warning against ascribing straightforward linear evolution to the work of Triclinius. Finally I wish to draw attention to a somewhat sinister aspect of our analysis: there is no evidence at all that Triclinius in his earlier work treated the transmitted text, where he thought it wrong for metrical reasons, any more respectfully than he did in T. Our only hope of recovering the text of Aeschylus when we only have the Byzantine scholar's recension to go by, is detailed knowledge of the metrical principles that guided him in his work. Part of the object of the present study is to provide lines of inquiry in this direction; when we know which metrical structures were avoided and which were sought by Triclinius, it is my conviction that we shall at least be able to point out those passages where innovations by Triclinius may have obscured the words of the poet. This applies to the passages discussed in this chapter as well as to the choral odes proper which we shall discuss in the next chapter.

We shall now continue with the two non-triadic plays. Though the MS evidence for the text of these plays is incomparably weaker, I hope that it will be proved that the outstanding features in Triclinius' early work on Aeschylus, which I have tried to outline on the much broader basis available in the two triadic plays just investigated, are also present in the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides*. In these plays we only have M as evidence for the pre-Triclinian text and colometry, apart from the few hundred lines preserved in V, *Ven. Marc. gr.* 468, and M is available only for ll. 1-310 and 1067-1159. The evidence for τ is as before G and F (though G omits the greater part of the *Agamemnon*), and in the *Eumenides* also E. T, of course, remains the sole witness for the final edition.

In these plays it is necessary to make a selection; I shall only discuss the most illustrative cases. There is no point in marshalling the sum total of cases of disagreement between M and the Triclinian MSS. Cases will be subjected to scrutiny only where we can say with some reason that Triclinius made innovations. The material studied in the triadic plays should furnish reliable criteria to permit us to find such instances of innovations; we should by now have a tolerably clear idea of the circumstances in which Triclinius would be likely to emend the transmitted text in those passages where he

found strophes and antistrophes. Since the apparatuses on this part of Aeschylus are reasonably full owing to the small amount of MS sources, the reader may here in any case be able to judge for himself the selection of material.

We shall begin with the relevant parts of the *Agamemnon*. Triclinius saw already in τ the strophic responsion between the lyric stanzas in the dialogue between the chorus and Cassandra ll. 1072 ff. In the first two pairs there is nothing worthy of special comment. The colometry is identical in M and the Triclinian MSS (G begins at l. 1095). In both recensions Triclinius analysed the cola as antispastic, but there is an obvious difference in detail between τ and T. In the later recension the whole section ll. 1072-1177 is analysed in a very summary manner in the scholia on l. 1072 and l. 1119 while in τ we have a detailed analysis of each colon in the whole section. The description in T looks very much like a condensation of the full notes in τ.[42] The scholium on l. 1072 in T (f. 144r) says:

> αἱ περίοδοι αὗται πᾶσαι καλοῦνται, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀλλοιόστροφοι· εἴσι δὲ τῶν μὲν στροφῶν καὶ ἀντιστροφῶν τὰ κῶλα ἀντισπαστικὰ ἐν οἷς καὶ πεντασύλλαβοι πόδες εὑρίσκονται. εἴσι δὲ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις στροφαῖς καὶ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι, τῶν δὲ συστημάτων πάντες ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι.

Against this short summary of the lines 1072-1119 we may set the detailed treatment in τ (where, of course we do not find the Hephaestionean terminology used in the T description of the structure). To illustrate this I only quote the scholium on l. 1072 in τ which gives a synopsis of the section ll. 1072-1177 and a detailed analysis of the first strophe in the manner known from the triadic plays:

> εἴσθεσις διπλῆς ἀμοιβαίας τὰς περιόδους <μονοστροφικὰς> καὶ συνεχεῖς ἔχουσα· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν τοῦ χοροῦ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου προσώπου κῶλα ἀντισπαστικά. ἔοικε δὲ ταῦτα στροφῆι καὶ ἀντιστροφῆι καί εἰσι τῆς μὲν στροφῆς κῶλα β′ ὧν τὸ α′ ἡμιόλιον, τὸ δὲ β′ πενθημιμερές, ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς. τὰ αὐτὰ γάρ εἰσι κῶλα, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πόδας πεντασυλλάβους.

The same close analysis is given of each subsequent colon in the section where nothing is found in T. The obvious explanation of

[42] This was noticed by Sealey, CQ N.S. 5, 1955, 122.

this central and important difference is that Triclinius in T only gave from his first recension what he thought absolutely necessary; it may be guessed that he did not want to take the trouble to think the whole matter over again in these plays, as he had done in the triad where he revised the whole of his metrical commentary according to his more advanced knowledge of *res metricae*—mainly obtained through a closer study of Hephaestion. Instead he gave a rough sketch with only the barest minimum of information. He was to a certain extent able to do so, for his usual notes indicating *systemata*, strophes and antistrophes informed the reader of the basic structure of the sections, and Triclinius may have thought the full analysis of the preceding plays sufficient to furnish an adequate help for the reader wishing to analyse in detail for himself.

Probable though this may be, it cannot be the whole explanation. We have seen how Triclinius had to do practically everything anew in T, because he had rejected or modified the principles on which his earlier work was based. Clearly this must be part of the explanation of the difference between τ and T in these plays.

Now in Sophocles we seem to meet with an identical situation in the non-tetradic plays. These plays have in our copies of the final recension *Par. gr.* 2711 (T) and *Ven. Marc.* 470 (Ta) received the same summary treatment as the non-triadic plays of Aeschylus, in one respect even more summary, for in Sophocles the metres except for a few dactylic hexameters, anapaests and iambic trimeters have not been described at all, cf. e.g. sch. *Phil.* 1163 (T, f. 255r; Ta is not Triclinian in the part containing *Phil.* 472-end, cf. Turyn, *Sophocles* 76): αἱ συστηματικαὶ περίοδοι κώλων εἰσὶ να' ὧν τὰ μέν εἰσι ἀναπαιστικά, τὰ δὲ ἰαμβικά, τὰ δὲ δακτυλικά, τὰ δὲ ἑτέρων μέτρων. Only the number of cola is regularly given. It is possible that the earlier commentary on Sophocles—of which we have next to no traces, cf. above p. 45—was made on the same principles as the earlier one on Aeschylus, but in the absence of positive evidence we are not allowed to take this possibility into account if another explanation can be found. Therefore we must face the problem in this way: Why have only the triadic plays of Aeschylus and the tetradic plays of Sophocles been subjected to close and exhaustive analysis? Clearly, to judge from τ, it was also Triclinius' intention to make a full analysis of the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides*. Therefore it will not do to suggest that only the Byzantine selection of each dramatist was intended

for detailed treatment. However, the difference may have something to do with the selection. Triclinius may have dispensed in his final edition with full analysis in the plays not commonly read—but the situation in Aristophanes is against such a hypothesis. In Aristophanes the whole corpus of plays known to Triclinius has been thoroughly treated in the final edition as far as we can see; the slender bulk of comment on the non-triadic plays in our sole witness, Holkham *gr.* 88, seems to be a result of the diminishing energy of the scribe.[43] But in the non-triadic plays of Aristophanes we have no evidence at all of any earlier stage of work. Triclinius may very well have made his commentary on these plays during a single term of work; in Aeschylus, and to a lesser degree in Sophocles, we know that he made at least two attempts of which he considered the later final. I therefore think the explanation offered above the most probable: the situation in Sophocles resembles that in Aeschylus and we must explain it in the same way. In both cases Triclinius revised his earlier commentary, made on principles he no longer accepted as correct, only as far as the plays usually read were concerned. In the remaining plays he limited himself to references to his preceding analyses, as he did at the very first lyric section in the *Oedipus Coloneus* ll. 117 ff. (T f. 151v, Ta f. 181v):

> τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴδη καὶ οἱ περίοδοι καλοῦνται ἑτερόστροφα· εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τίνος μέτρου τῶν κώλων ἐστιν ἕκαστον εἰδέναι, τοῖς προτέροις ἀκολουθῶν δράμασι μάθοις ἂν καὶ ταῦτα.

Similarly he says on the cola in the first choral ode in the *Agamemnon* ll. 104 ff.: ἃ καὶ μετρήσεις ἑπόμενος οἷς πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν and in the *Eumenides* on ll. 140 ff.: ἃ καὶ μετρήσεις τοῖς προτέροις ἑπόμενος. Thus I am inclined to believe that the first Sophocles recension was made on the same metrical principles as the first Aeschylus. I shall later point out indisputable instances of particular analyses in the non-triadic plays in T, which can be shown to be correct on the τ principles of metrical analysis, but faulty on the principles of the mature Triclinius. Such instances prove that Triclinius in his commentary on the two non-triadic plays in T took over what he found in τ but condensed the material and omitted details of the

[43] In the first non-triadic play, the *Equites*, the scribe of the Holkham MS omits the scholia on ll. 367-381, 409-440, 461-497, 551-564 to mention a few instances.

single cola. He may have thought that by doing this he was on the safe side without committing himself, but the character of his work in T is revealed in his treatment of the antispastic cola, the point where we have found signal differences between the two recensions. To be fair we should point out that it cannot be excluded that the final recension of Aeschylus as we have it in T does contain features that may be best explained by the theory that it was not quite finished from the hand of the author; but this observation cannot apply to the Sophocles recension as far as I can see. At any rate, the unfinished nature of the Aeschylus, revealed by the total lack of *exegetic* scholia after *Eum.* 212, does not seem to have affected the metrical commentary.

Let us return to the analysis of the text of the *Agamemnon.* There is no reason to go into detail before the third pair of strophe and antistrophe ll. 1090-1092 = 1095-1097; the colometry (the same as in modern editions) is here identical in M and the Triclinian MSS (G has only the antistrophe). Triclinius in τ regards the cola as an antispastic brachycatalectic trimeter, an acatalectic dimeter and an iambic acatalectic trimeter. Thus we see that here the only effect of his desire for systematization, so evident in his treatment of the stanzas in the triadic plays, has been that he overlooks the iambs in the second colon. Nor is there any trace of his *Systemzwang* in the preceding strophes and antistrophes; instead he follows closely the M colometry which he must have taken over from his old source, abstaining from generalizing the cola except in as far as he regards them as antispastic.

In the antistrophe the old tradition in M has

μαρτυρίοις γὰρ τοῖσδε πεπείθομαι
κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγάς

whereas in τ (= GF) we find

μαρτυρίοις μὲν γὰρ τοῖσδε πεπείθομαι
κλαιόμενα τὰ βρέφη σφαγάς

As Zuntz, *Inquiry* 209 rightly saw, the τ text must be a result of Triclinian emendation. And before him, Hermann on l. 1096 (1055 H.) commented that 'τὰ βρέφη a Triclinio scriptum est ut metrum ei metro quod in strophico versu invenerat, accommodaretur'. Hermann was correct; Triclinius must have started from the strophe where he found a brachycatalectic trimeter and an

acatalectic dimeter. He then proceeded by a favourite means to effect similar cola in the antistrophe. The interpolation in the first colon we have seen paralleled elsewhere (cf. above p. 122), but it is important to be aware that if syllabic responsion had been his object in τ, he, and not Pauw, would have had the credit for reading μαρτυρίοισι. The fact that the μὲν was upheld in T is only evidence for the character of the later recension of the non-triadic plays. On this character we have perhaps more striking evidence in the metrical analysis. The view of these cola as brachycatalectic trimeters and acatalectic dimeters involves the faulty analysis of – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ as a pentasyllabic antispast in the first foot. We have seen several times that the effects of this doctrine were ruthlessly eliminated by Triclinius in his revision of the triadic plays; without exception such 'antispastic' cola are analysed as choriambic in T in the triadic plays. But here he does not correct his earlier view; in the T scholium quoted above on ll. 1072 ff. he still calls these cola antispastic. The metrical notes in T, it will be seen, were taken over from τ with only a few adjustments; here he only changed the general description of the section which he had earlier called a διπλῆ.

Since the interpolation l. 1095 does not effect syllabic responsion there is no need to think that τὰ for τάδε was meant to do so either. The correction restores the acatalectic dimeter.

I pass over the fourth pair where we observe nothing significant for our purpose. The fact that the Triclinian MSS at ll. 1103 and 1110 give the correct colometry as against M [44] cannot be considered significant, since there is no reason why Triclinius should have changed the M colometry if he had found that same colometry in his old source; the arrangement in τ and T may very well have been taken over from ψ.

From ll. 1114 ff. Triclinius in the earlier recension assumed an ABAB structure making ll. 1114-1118 correspond with ll. 1125-1129 and ll. 1119-1124 with ll. 1130-1135 etc. The arrangement in T is similar but there the cola of the chorus are regarded as συστήματα, a concept that he did not use in τ. Again at this point we may observe how closely he follows τ in other respects. In both recensions the structural change is noticed; in τ he said on l. 1114 ἐντεῦθεν

[44] M divides these lines into two cola each and is here followed by Fraenkel. Most editors, rightly I think, prefer with T the arrangement in one colon.

ἑτέρως ἐσχημάτισε τὸ μέτρον while in T we hear that ἐντεῦθεν ἑτέρως ἐσχημάτισε τὰ τῶν συστημάτων κῶλα (sch. T on l. 1119).

Apart from insignificant differences the colometry is identical in our four MSS MGFT. Again Triclinius seems to have followed ψ and did not try to generalize the cola. In these lines the only cases that can with profit be discussed occur in the corresponding ll. 1122 and 1133; they show very clearly the problems we have to face in these plays.

M has in l. 1122 and l. 1133 respectively

σταγὼν ἅτε καὶ δορία πτώσιμος

and

βροτοῖς στέλλεται κακῶν γὰρ διά

If this text was also in Triclinius' old source, he modified it on several points. In τ we read

σταγὼν ἅτε καὶ δωρία πτώσιμος

and

βροτοῖσι στέλλεται κακῶν γὰρ δὴ αἰ

analysed as antispastic catalectic trimeters. It is obvious that δωρία, βροτοῖσι and δὴ αἰ look like Triclinian emendations; it is equally obvious that we have no means of reaching certainty. However, there is reason to believe that δὴ αἰ was the ψ reading, for if it had been διά as in M the easiest and most predictable emendation would have been διαί (Hermann), a reading Triclinius restores elsewhere. On the other hand βροτοῖσι could very well be a Triclinian emendation to yield a catalectic trimeter, but then we have to presuppose δωρία as the ψ text. This case shows the nature of our evidence; where corrections against M are found both in the strophe and the antistrophe in τ, we cannot be certain of what we are to ascribe to Triclinius. It is easier to analyse the text in T, for there can be no doubt that the deletion of καὶ in l. 1122 and the reading στέλεται instead of στέλλεται in l. 1133 are the innovations of the Byzantine critic. Moreover, if βροτοῖσι in τ was his own emendation, he discarded it in T and returned, as he so often does in the triadic plays, to the old tradition. The result is complete syllabic responsion.

Leaving a few inconclusive cases aside, we reach a formidable *crux* in the fifth pair l. 1143. The τ text is

ἀκόρεστος βοαῖς φιλοίκτοις ταλαίναις φρεσίν

This is called an antispastic catalectic trimeter which it cannot be, though the corresponding colon in fact is one.

μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὀρθίοις ἐν νόμοις

Now M in l. 1143 has

ἀκόρεστος βοαῖς φεῦ ταλαίναις (-νας M[s]) φρεσίν

which is probably the correct text apart from Asulanus' necessary adjustment ἀκόρετος. But what are we to do with the τ text? In T Triclinius pieced together the metre by reading

ἀκόρεστος βορᾶς φιλοίκτοισι φρεσίν

and it stands to reason that this could have been the τ text, since the colon in that form in τ would have been analysed as a catalectic trimeter. In view of the GF agreement we must conclude, I think, that τ reproduces the text of ψ without any interference by Triclinius.[11] The unmetrical τ text could never be the result of deliberate emendation. As a rule, I think, we may postulate that where GF do not make metrical sense (that is, according to the scholia) we are in the presence of the unadulterated ψ tradition. There is no reason to suppose that through emendation Triclinius would produce a text which was against the metrical analysis. I fear that we cannot go further at this stage of our knowlegde.

M deserts us after l. 1159 so we must necessarily stop here and proceed with the *Eumenides*, where the evidence for τ is enriched by the witness E besides G and F. The whole of this play is preserved in the old tradition.

In this play Triclinius found strophic responsion at ll. 837-846 = 870-880, but there are no textual or colometrical differences of any significance in our MSS. As in the *Agamemnon* Triclinius followed his old source almost slavishly. It is also reasonable to suppose that in the next case ll. 916-926 = 938-948 the arrangement of the cola was taken over directly from ψ. This pair contains the most inter-

[45] This conclusion, however, does not contribute any positive evidence to solve the problem of whether φιλοίκτοις is a gloss on ταλαίναις (Thomson, Page).

esting evidence for Triclinius' work on the non-triadic plays, so we shall dwell on this case and study it in some detail.

Unfortunately the τ scholia contain very little detail; we only get the information that these cola are choriambic (for this description of the simple trochaics cf. above p. 75). At l. 923 ff. in the strophe there occurs one of the most discussed passages in the τ text of the *Eumenides*; these lines and the accompanying scholia were used by Blass, Turyn, Dawe and Helm [46] to illustrate the relation between τ and T. Unfortunately the reports of the MSS by these scholars have not been accurate enough. The findings in the Triclinian MSS at *Eum.* 923 ff. are as follows:

GE have in l. 923 the text

ἐπισσύτους βίους (βίου E) ὀνησίμους

with no scholium. F has the text

ἐπισσύτους βίους τύχας ὀνησίμους

with τύχας deleted by dots written above the word accompanied by the scholium τοῦτο περισσὸν πρὸς τὸ κῶλον τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς. It follows that Triclinius in τ found that the colon in the strophe was faulty as against the colon in the antistrophe which was (l. 945)

τρέφοι χρόνωι τεταγμένωι γόνος,

in other words a regular brachycatalectic trimeter. This implied the deletion of τύχας in the strophe, possibly indicated in τ as in F by suprascript dots. The scribes of G and E did not copy the proscribed word but followed the instruction of their exemplar. F, on the other hand, copied τ faithfully; he also copied the scholium omitted by GE because in these two MSS the scholium would be meaningless.[47]

Then in l. 925 all three MSS have

γαίας ἐξαμυρόσαι

with the scholium καὶ (*om.* E) τοῦτο περισσὸν πρὸς τὸ κῶλον τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς.[48] We may note that the meaningless καὶ appears in G;

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[46] Blass, *Die Eumeniden des Aischylos* 18; Turyn, *Aeschylus* 114 and *Euripides* 252 n. 237; Dawe, *The MSS* 46; Helm, *Demetrius Triclinius* 54 f.

[47] In his Oxford text Page gives βίους (om. τύχας) F^{pc}; we have no reason to think that the deletion was *post correctionem*, cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 252 n. 237.

[48] The scholium καὶ τοῦτο in GFE has been written to explain l. 925, not l. 923 as is claimed in Hermann's note on 911 H. The same inaccuracy is in Turyn, *Aeschylus* 114 and Helm, *op. cit.* 55.

this scribe had omitted the scholium l. 923, but the fact that none of our MSS omits anything here shows that Triclinius had not yet made up his mind as to which cure to prefer. When we turn to T there is no doubt because there he wrote the note ἀντὶ μιᾶς above -υρο- in ἐξαμυρόσαι. In τ he only marked out the difficulty, reserving it for future treatment. The reason for Triclinius' critical note in τ is that l. 946, the colon in the antistrophe, is a hemiolion which l. 925 in τ definitely is not.

We have no reason to suppose that the remark περισσὸν πρὸς τὸ κῶλον τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς has anything to do with syllabic responsion. A further instance from this passage shows the fundamental difference in approach between τ and T. The third colon in the antistrophe in T has

φλογμός τ' ὀμματοστερὴς φυτῶν τὸ

where τ' is a clear interpolation devised to effect exact responsion with

τὰν καὶ ζεὺς ὁ παγκρατὴς ἄρης τε

in the strophe. The τ' is not in τ because it is unnecessary, the colon without τ' is a brachycatalectic trimeter like the colon in the antistrophe. But if in τ Triclinius had striven to effect this type of responsion, nothing would have been easier for him already at this time to make this interpolation of which other examples can be found in τ.[49]

[49] Cf. *Sept.* 917 and *Pers.* 634.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TEXTUAL AND METRICAL WORK IN THE ANAPAESTIC SECTIONS AND THE CHORAL ODES

In the preceding chapter we made an analysis of Triclinius' work in τ at its most advanced stage, from which we have gained some insight into his method of work and metrical principles. This insight will also help us to study adequately those parts of Aeschylus where he did not succeed in applying his knowledge of the principle of strophic responsion, namely the choral odes. I have also included the anapaestic sections in this chapter. Though the problems there are different, it will be most practical to include these parts in the discussion, because Triclinius analyses the anapaestic sections as part of the choral odes.

As we have seen, Triclinius treated the choral odes in τ as monostrophes consisting of a number of cola. In some cases he was right, of course: indeed the greater part of the *parodos* of the *Septem* is monostrophic. But in the choral odes proper he only made a very superficial analysis of their structure. It will not be practical to proceed in the way we did in the preceding chapter in order to analyse the material; the best method is to start with the song he obviously did analyse in greater detail, and which more resembles the definitive version in T. Among the lyric sections to which he devoted considerable energy in τ, the end of the *Septem* is exceptional. Therefore we shall begin our inquiry by analysing the lines *Sept.* 822 ff. As before, we shall compare the Triclinian colometry with the pre-Triclinian MSS MGL and F^{ac}, in order to gain insight into his revision of the cola, and to state where possible how far he deviates from the traditional colometry. Although the manuscripts show individual aberrations, especially where shorter cola are concerned, we can discern a traditional colometry.

In the τ scholium to l. 822 Triclinius took ll. 822-870 as a choral ode (χορός) and treated the remaining lines until l. 1005 in smaller sections, analysing each colon in notes written opposite the lines in question.

The first thing to notice in his analysis of ll. 822-870 (for the text of the scholium see Appendix I) is that he divides the song into

ὑποθέσεις; this term has, so far as I know, no metrical significance and is probably used in the rhetorical sense. Triclinius used this term to explain the change of metre occurring in the song, as is implied by his formula εἶτα μεταβὰς εἰς ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἐνήλλαξεν. The word ὑπόθεσις is not found in the metrical τ scholia outside of this set formula.[1]

The first ὑπόθεσις consists of the initial anapaests ll. 822-831, the second of ll. 832-853, the third of ll. 854-860 and finally the fourth one of ll. 861-870. It will be seen that apart from the isolation of the anapaests ll. 822-831 and 861-870 the division into ὑποθέσεις is metrically very ill-conceived. Triclinius used this term to explain some changes of metre in the choral songs, and most often these divisions will in fact coincide with a change of subject-matter in the songs. For example, in the present song Triclinius was led by the change of address l. 833 (ὦ. . . 'Ἀρά) and l. 854 (ὦ φίλαι) to explain the change of metre as a change of ὑπόθεσις. In the *parodos* of the *Persae* the division at ll. 65, 115 and 140 can also be rationally explained. In some cases, however, Triclinius could not explain the change in this way. For example at *Persae* 584 he duly noted that the metre changes from choriambic to choriambic-prosodiac; there is nothing here in the scholium on l. 532 about a new ὑπόθεσις, only the change of metre, because there is no change of subject matter. Again at *Ag.* 355 ff. the metre changes in Triclinius' view from the anapaests ll. 355-366 to the choriambics ll. 367 ff.; he only notes the change of metre without relating it to a change in subject-matter. It is evident on the other hand, that his divisions into ὑποθέσεις are only used to explain these changes; the divisions are not found in his scholia where they are not related to a change in the metrical structure of the songs. For example *Ag.* 40 ff., divided into three ὑποθέσεις, contain a good many more changes in subject-matter than implied by the analysis.

Let us return to the song *Sept.* 822 ff. Triclinius isolated correctly

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[1] In T ὑπόθεσις is used in the rhetorical sense sch. *Sept.* 822; Triclinius describes what follows after the initial anapaests as στροφὴν καὶ ἀντιστροφὴν καὶ ἐπῳδὸν καὶ συστήματα ἕτερα ἁρμόζοντα τῆι χρείαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως. Could this remark be a "residue" of his τ analysis into ὑποθέσεις ? In τ sch. *Sept.* 822 is the first place (not considering the *Prometheus* which probably was not commented upon in τ at all) where the analysis into ὑποθέσεις occurs, so that the possibility cannot be excluded.

I have not found the term elsewhere; on an occurrence in the scholia on Aristophanes, *Nub.* 510-517 cf. D. Holwerda, Mnem. Ser. 4 20, 1967, 248.

the cola of the lines 822-847 in τ and kept this colometry unchanged in his later work. He may have established this arrangement—which is identical with that in Murray's and Page's editions—on the basis of his old source, for the same colometry is found in M and substantially also in G. The MSS F^{ac} and L, however, agree in a quite different lay-out.

Though he divided the cola correctly, it is evident that he was not yet able to divide into strophe and antistrophe, because he took ll. 835 and 836 as trochaic and read καὶ θέσφατ' in l. 844; his mistaken view of ll. 848-852 as being in the same metre also prevented him from grasping the metrical structure of the song.

The opening anapaests were relatively easy for him to analyse. He was not aware of the metrical difficulty at l. 824 and was satisfied with regarding the colon as a monometer. In ll. 830-831 he found a favourite structure of his at the end of the anapaests, a monometer followed by a paroemiac. The Thoman MSS—but not M—have

καὶ πολυνείκεις ὤλοντ' ἀσεβεῖ διανοίαι

as one colon. Triclinius divided after πολυνείκεις to make up a monometer, the παρατέλευτον, and a paroemiac, the ἀποθετικόν. Colometrical and textual corrections to effect such cola at the end of anapaests are extremely numerous in all Triclinian recensions of the dramatists, and have long ago been noticed as the special trade-mark of our critic.[2]

It may be just an oversight by F^{pc} that the F text still has ὄλοντ' and thus exhibits an iamb in anapaests. The τ text may have had ὤλοντ' like T and most other MSS. However, Triclinius accepted iambs in anapaestic cola, as we shall have occasion to see in

[2] Triclinius makes a special mention of this type of clausula in the τ scholium on the anapaests at ll. 869-870. See also his similar remarks sch. Ar. *Equ.* 498b on the monometer: τὸ παρατέλευτον . . . κῶλον ὅπερ ἔθος ἐν τῆι ἐκθέσει τίθεσθαι and cf. *ibid.* 507 μονόμετρον ὃ καὶ παρατέλευτον ὀνομάζεται ὃ σύνηθες τίθεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκθέσεσι. On Eur. *Hec.* 93 he explicitly points out that he has to correct the cola in order to achieve the prescribed structure: οὕτω δὲ χρὴ γράφειν καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κῶλα ἵν' εἴη δίμετρα ὡς τὰ λοιπά. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀναπαιστικοῖς μονόμετρα διὰ μέσου εὕρηται οὐ μὴν καὶ δίμετρα καταληκτικά, ἀλλ' ἐν μόναις ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι. On the ἀποθετικόν cf. Soph. *Aj.* 160 where he wants to establish period-end (cf. Turyn, *Sophocles* 71): ἐφθημιμερὲς γὰρ ὀφείλει εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτο κῶλον ὡς ἀποθετικόν. Cf. further on *Sept.* 1054, *Pers.* 632 and 927 and see Holzinger, *Vorstudien* 77 ff., 120 ff.; Zuntz, *Inquiry* 85 and 100 with notes.

less doubtful instances, so the possibility that ὅλοντ' was the τ reading cannot be excluded.[3] The problem of iambs occurs again in l. 828. In τ Triclinius regarded the colon

ἀτέκνους κλαύσω πολεμάρχους

as acatalectic which implied scanning ἀτέκνους ⏑––. In T he seems to have been less happy about this licence, for there he interpolated δή [4] after κλαύσω, and marked the second syllable in ἀτέκνους with his usual sign for a short anceps, thus obtaining a full acatalectic dimeter.

Line 826 he seems to have given up. In τ the line does not conform to the description as acatalectic since he read with most MSS

πόλεως ἀσινεῖ σωτῆρι

There is no trace in τ of the cure later adopted in T where he interpolated τῆι at the beginning of the colon, and further changed σωτῆρι into σωτηρίαι, marking the last syllable as short.[5]

As I said above, the colometry of the anapaests ll. 822-31 was probably established in τ on the basis of the old tradition; in accordance with this source he had to change the 'Thoman' colometry in a good many places. This work is reflected in F, for F^{ac} and L agree in the majority of cases, and thus seem to represent the colometry which Triclinius corrected in his Thoman copy τ. For

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[3] Triclinius took the doctrine of iambs in anapaests from his MS of Hephaestion, *Ven. Marc. gr.* 483 (on this MS in general cf. chap. II n. 42 above) which has at Heph. 24, 15 Consbr. (f. 25r) παρὰ δὲ τοῖς δραματοποιοῖς ἴαμβον (this word is added above the line by the scribe) καὶ δάκτυλον; similarly *Harley* 5618 has καὶ ἴαμβον καὶ δάκτυλον. The scholia B 275, 18 Consbr. also mention the iamb, but *Ven. Marc. gr.* 483 does not contain this part since it breaks off at 272, 14 Consbr. as does its *Vorlage*, A, *Ambros.* I 8 *sup.* In his *epitome* Triclinius follows his MS of Hephaestion, cf. Appendix II l. 33. He is at pains to legitimize the iamb in his metrical scholia, cf. e.g. sch. *Pers.* 532 μὴ ξενίζου τοίνυν εἴπερ εὑρήσεις ἐν τούτοις κείμενον ἴαμβον and see also sch. *Prom.* 167 and *Sept.* 1054. It is interesting to observe that the *Tractatus Harleianus* § 20 also exhibits the Triclinian version of the opening paragraph of Hephaestion's treatment of the anapaestic metre.

[4] For this common interpolation in Triclinius cf. above Chapter III p. 127 on *Sept.* 521 with note 14.

[5] While τῆι certainly must be regarded as a standard Triclinian interpolation, σωτηρίαι seems to be pre-Triclinian, since it is in C, *Par. gr.* 2785 and also in many Thoman MSS, cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 90 and Dawe, *Collation* 70 and 285. As to the metrical difficulty here, I should think the text sound after all, against Murray and Page; see Wilamowitz *ad loc.*, Fraenkel on *Ag.* 366 and Groeneboom on *Pers.* 32.

example l. 823 F^ac^L divide after δαίμονες and in l. 826 these MSS divide after πόλεως.

The same can be observed in the song proper ll. 832-847, where Triclinius again following old colometry corrects the vulgate arrangement represented by F^ac^L. Also this is reflected in F, where F^pc^ reproduces the Triclinian adjustments by means of the usual dots. The two first trochaic cola (832-833) are written as one colon in F^ac^L, whereas Triclinius divided after τέλεια. Then followed an iambic trimeter already so arranged in the Thoman MSS. The next two cola he regarded as trochaic hephthemimers (835-836) which meant transposing -σταγεῖς to the preceding colon, since in the Thoman MSS there is a colon-division after αἱματο-. Lines 837-838 he took as two iambic dimeters, dividing, against his Thoman basis, after ἄ- and thus effecting a trochaic hephthemimer in l. 839. At the beginning of the antistrophe—which he did not acknowledge as such in τ—he again divided the one colon of his Thoman MS into two cola (trochaic). He could not fail to observe that l. 842 was an iambic trimeter, and though this recurrence of the two trochaic cola + iambic trimeter should have made him realize the strophic structure, he proceeded to divide the remaining lines of the antistrophe so as to make up four acatalectic iambic dimeters + a catalectic trochaic dimeter. This last colon also should have made him see the truth, for he had isolated a similar colon l. 839. Probably he was misled by his further detection of the same colon l. 853 on which see below.

There are a few textual points in these lines. First, we should notice that ὡς l. 836 has been deleted by dots in F^pc^ before θυάς (sic). The ὡς can be found in several Thoman MSS (cf. Bryson, *Contributions* 60), but it is not clear why it was deleted; metrical reasons cannot have been all-important, for with the word in the line the colon is an iambic acatalectic dimeter, without the word it is a trochaic hephthemimer as is also the preceding colon in the τ analysis, incredible though it seems.[6] If ὡς was deleted for metrical reasons, Triclinius may have been guided by the preceding 'trochaic' colon but it is perhaps preferable to regard ὡς as rejected on MS authority.

At l. 843 F^pc^ interpolated τὴν before πόλιν, a clear instance of

[6] In T Triclinius calls this colon a περιοδικόν or a choriambic dimeter, which at least is not as far-fetched as the trochaic analysis in the earlier recension.

metrical correction to effect regular iambic dimeters ll. 843-846. This interpolation seems not recorded from elsewhere and must be Triclinian, derived from τ. In the next line F^{pc} added καὶ at the beginning of the colon; this is very remarkable, for all Thoman MSS seem to have καὶ θέσφατ', and only a few of the *veteres* exhibit a text without the καὶ. Of course we must take into account the possibility that F preserved an isolated old reading corrupted in its near relatives, or that the καὶ is an addition made by F^{pc} at the Thoman stage, cf. the situation at l. 999 discussed above p. 18 f. On the other hand καὶ seems to have been added after the dots between πόλιν and θέσφατ' were put by F^{pc}. So we should probably conclude that originally F did not have the καὶ in its Thoman source, and that καὶ was added from τ by F^{pc}. The particle is necessary in the iambic analysis.[7]

In the final recension, strophe and antistrophe are recognised here; the colometry is identical with that adopted in the earlier version, but of necessity the text had to be adjusted in a few places. At l. 843 he dismissed the interpolation and read μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν following the *veteres* or inventing this easy conjecture himself. The καὶ which he had taken over from the Thoman MSS in τ was now tacitly dropped. The analysis of the cola in T differs on a single point from the earlier description. As we had occasion to observe, colon 4 which in τ was called trochaic, was now correctly regarded as a περιοδικόν. Where he corrected the text as against the earlier recension, the analysis of the cola naturally had to be changed as in ll. 843 and 844.

The next lines 848-852 in τ Triclinius made into five iambic cola (a trimeter + four dimeters) followed by a trochaic hephthemimer in accordance with e.g. M but differing from LF^{ac}. The only interesting textual point is in the last colon of this so-called ὑπόθεσις ll. 832-852. The MSS have l. 852

δόμων ἐφέστιοι

but already in τ this was emended into

δωμάτων ἐφέστιοι.[8]

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[7] In the old MSS καὶ is omitted by MIΔBCOYa according to Dawe; Page does not mention the original text of F here though there can be no doubt as to the καὶ having been added by F^{pc}. Though Wilamowitz' report of F generally is untrustworthy in the extreme, it should have roused suspicion. Here at least he is right.

[8] In F δωμάτων has been written instead of δόμων by F^{pc}.

Why Triclinius did so is not easy to see, if it was not because he somehow felt the trochaic hephthemimer to be a more acceptable clausula. The reading δωμάτων is not known from MSS other than F^{pc}T, and must therefore be regarded as a *prima facie* Triclinian correction.

In T, ll. 848-852 are viewed as an epode; it may be surmised that Triclinius was on the track of this arrangement already in τ, witness his isolation of a similar trochaic colon l. 847.

The third ὑπόθεσις in τ consists of ll. 853-860 described in the scholium on 822-870 as five iambic trimeters and an anapaestic hephthemimer. For this arrangement Triclinius probably depended on the Thoman MSS, since the old colometry in M and G treats lines 857-859 in a different way.[9] In order to secure a row of five trimeters Triclinius made a particularly drastic interpolation in l. 853 where the MSS before him had

ἀλλὰ γόων ὦ φίλαι κατ' οὖρον

To make up a full trimeter he had added αἴρετε after οὖρον already in τ.[10] Further modifications were made in l. 857 where the pre-Triclinian text in the Thoman MSS was

τὴν ἄστονον μελάγκροκον ναύστολον θεωρίδα

He deleted ναύστολον with a row of dots as it appears from F^{pc}, and wrote ναύστολον instead of ἄστονον.[11] In l. 858 ἀστιβῆ was changed into ἄστιβον, and he finally erased τε in l. 860. These corrections can be seen very clearly in F.[12]

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[9] The Thoman MSS L and F^{ac} divide κατ' οὖρον ||, χεροῖν ||, ἀμείβεται ||, θεωρίδα ||, ἀνάλιον ||. M and G have the 3 first cola as in LF^{ac} but then put colon-end after μελάγκροκον, θεωρίδα, ἀπόλλω, ἀνάλιον.

[10] In F αἴρετε has beyond all reasonable doubt been added by F^{pc}.

[11] It is extremely doubtful what was the F^{ac} reading here; it has been completely erased, and supplanted by F^{pc}'s ναύστολον. We have no means of being certain, but it is likely that F^{ac} had either ἄστονον or ἄστολον; both readings are mentioned in the Thoman scholium *ad loc.* in F.

The apparatus in Page is very misleading here: ναύστολον for ἄστονον/ἄστολον is given as the F reading, whereas it is in fact F^{pc}; similarly ναύστολον before θεωρίδα is said to have been deleted by F—while it should have been F^{pc}. In Page's apparatus it appears as if we had two outstanding and wholly unparalleled exclusive FT agreements.

[12] This was noticed also by Dawe, *The MSS* 39 f. I should add that the circumflex in the original F^{ac} reading ἀστιβῆ is still visible, as also in ἀφανῆ l. 860 where a large clumsy η was written by F^{pc} to fill up the space left after the erasure of τε.

All these interferences have metrical significance, and can only be explained on the hypothesis that Triclinius as far as possible strove to isolate blocks of similar cola. There is a scholium on the *parodos* of the *Septem* in τ (to which we shall return later), that seems to support such a view of his working methods; in this schol. *Sept.* 78 ff. he propounds his colometry with this argument:

> οὕτω δὲ χρὴ μετρηθῆναι μᾶλλον ἵν' εἴη κατ' ἄλληλα τὰ κῶλα ὡς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων χορῶν

This principle seems to have been his guide through the mass of cola in the choral songs, and if I am right we shall see this principle put to practical use in a very large number of cases. It goes without saying that this working hypothesis would sometimes, as in this instance, lead him seriously wrong; but he was sufficiently satisfied with it to follow the earlier colometry in his later recension. In the present case he took over in T the text exactly as it had been established in τ, and said in the T scholia on 854 (f. 72v):

> οὕτω γὰρ χρὴ γράφειν τούτους (sc. τοὺς στίχους) ὡς διωρθώθησαν παρ' ἡμῶν [13]

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[13] Blomfield noticed that Thomas in his *Ecloga* 181, 10 quoted l. 857 in the form it has in F^{pc}T; from this observation scholars concluded that the corrections in that line were to be assigned to Thomas and not to Triclinius. If this were true my view of what Triclinius meant by διωρθώθησαν παρ' ἡμῶν would be wrong. Fortunately it is not very likely that Thomas wrote the line as it stands in F^{pc}T; for why, of all manuscripts, should it be only the Triclinian ones that have preserved a Thoman correction not extant in the innumerable 'Thoman' MSS ? And why should Thomas have rewritten the line at all ? If, however, the F^{pc}T text is to be assigned to Triclinius, as I am inclined to think, some interesting perspectives are opened up: the composition of the *Ecloga* must be later than at least the first Triclinian recension. It is by no means excluded that Thomas may have known either the working copy itself or a copy of it, but it is more probable that he derived the version of *Sept.* 857 from T. But of course, the isolated correction may also have found its way into another MS; this is more likely since Thomas betrays no first hand knowledge of the two non-triadic plays. Unfortunately there has been very little critical work done on the *Ecloga* since the days of Ritschl, and we do not possess an inventory of the MSS. I am thus unable to say how far back the preserved MSS take us.

Alternatively the reading might have been derived by Thomas from an old source, the source from where Triclinius also might have got it. If the reading is not Triclinius' own, the present case is in line with the general principle I shall state later on, that larger rewriting or deletion in sections not characterized by antistrophic responsion is made by Triclinius in τ on MS authority only, below p. 176, 184 and 209 f.

Apparently the anapaestic hephthemimer which he found in l. 860 was discovered because of the principle διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς. This seems to be a variant of the theory that the cola should be κατ' ἄλληλα; when he is in doubt as to the correct analysis of a given colon he will sometimes argue on the principle that the colon should be analysed in a given way διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς. Thus at *Pers.* 955 in T where he originally may have had the choice between οἶ οἴ and οἶ οἶ οἴ, he decides for οἶ οἴ because a brachycatalectic trochaic monometer as he calls the colon will be in accordance with the following trochaic cola. Similarly, in the song *Hec.* 629 he decides for a given analysis because of the following colon: τὸ ε' τροχαικὸν διὰ τὸ ἑξῆς πενθημιμερές. In the present case *Sept.* 860 he argues in τ that it is a habit with the poets to place a colon similar to the following different cola at the end of a song: ἔθος γάρ ἐστι τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐκθέσεσι τῶν μελῶν τοιαῦτα κῶλα τιθέναι ὅμοια τοῖς ἑξῆς. A perfect parallel to this remark may be found in the *parodos* to the *Persae*, where Triclinius says in the scholium on *Pers.* 1 in τ that the last colon in the anapaestic section ll. 65-114 is a trochaic ithyphallic διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς, the following section being trochaic.[14] At the end of this section Triclinius notes that the colon παρατέλευτον (l. 139) is anapaestic, διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς, the section ll. 140-154 being anapaestic dimeters.

The last section ll. 861-870 was easy for him to handle since both the old tradition and the Thoman MSS are agreed as to the colometrical arrangement; only the last two cola seemed wrongly set out in the MSS that were at his disposal. He saw that by dividing what was written as one colon in the MSS (ll. 869-870)

ἰαχεῖν αἴδα τ' ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν

he could effect his favourite anapaestic clausula monometer + paroemiac just as he did at the end of the period 822-831; accordingly he divided the line after αἴδα and wrote the note παρατέλευτον μονόμετρον in the margin opposite l. 869.

In T these last two ὑποθέσεις were called συστήματα; in ll. 861-870 he again took over in T the text and the arrangement already established to his satisfaction in τ.

[14] He also notes at l. 114 τροχαικὸν (-κὰ F; G omits the note) διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς. Massa Positano 156 in her additions to Dindorf's publication of the F scholia has made the note incomprehensible by taking it together with the summary of the section 65-114 κῶλα μζ' which is written a little above our note, the result being κῶλα μζ' τροχαικὰ διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς. It is no wonder that she thought such gibberish to be the work of Thomas.

The whole *exodos* in τ was analysed in blocks of cola; there seems to have been no attempt, as far as we can judge, at any system, and there are no long scholia covering large sections of the lines 871-1004. In the later recension, on the other hand, the section is analysed in the usual way into *systemata,* strophes and antistrophes. In the course of our analysis we shall have opportunity to see how the blocks of cola set out in τ are related to the elaborate Hephaestionean arrangement in the later recension.

The anapaests ll. 871-874 are preceded in τ by ἰὼ ἰώ, analysed as an iambic monometer. Triclinius probably found only one ἰώ in his Thoman *Vorlage* and added a second partly to obtain metrical sense, partly to achieve a parallel to ll. 875 and 881.[51]

These lines, isolated as anapaests in τ, become a σύστημα ἐπιφθεγματικόν in T. The colometry is again identical in our MSS, except for the isolation of the initial iambic colon in the Triclinian MSS.

Then from l. 875 strophic responsion is acknowledged in T, though not, of course, in τ. The cola, with a single important exception, are identical in both recensions, and are obviously arranged in accordance with the old tradition as opposed to the layout in LF^{ac}. The cola ll. 875-884 are in τ analysed into three blocks following the indications of speakers at l. 875 (half-chorus), l. 879 (*id.*) and l. 881 (*id.*). Of these blocks ll. 879-880 are anapaests, while the two surrounding blocks consist of three trochaic cola and an iambic trimeter each. While the anapaestic cola ll. 879-880 are identical in all our MSS, the two blocks on each side are arranged into three cola each in the Thoman MSS LF^{ac}, with divisions after ἄπιστοι and δόμους in the first block ll. 875-878, and after ἐρειψίτοιχοι and ἰδόντες in the second block ll. 881-884. Triclinius, following in τ the old tradition, divides after δύσφρονες, ἀτρύμονες, ἑλόν- and after δωμάτων, μοναρχίας and διήλ-. With this division he laid, as we shall see, the basis of his later strophic analysis in T. The reason why he did not arrive at this analysis in τ appears from the difference referred to above between τ and T. In l. 877 τ still accepts the traditional text πατρῴους δόμους ἑλόν||τες and since the corresponding colon l. 883 was a περιοδικόν (an iambic dipody + a trochaic catalectic dipody) [16] in τ Triclinius did not arrive at the

[15] No MSS with ἰώ written twice here seem to have been recorded except F^{pc} and T. The second ἰώ is clearly an addition by F^{pc} written in smaller letters at the beginning of the line, protruding from the text column.

[16] Such cola Triclinius later called περίοδοι though the name used in τ is also found in T. He gives the definition of a περίοδος at sch. Pind. *Ol.* II

solution found in T. There he saw that what was needed was a slight transposition

δόμους πατρώους ἑλόν//τες [17]

But in any case in τ Triclinius was very near the truth here.

On the basis of the τ analysis he discerned strophe and antistrophe correctly in T; the anapaestic cola 879-880 he labelled a σύστημα κατὰ περικοπήν.

After the antistrophe all MSS known to us except Fpc, Q and T [18] carry an intruded scholium in the poetic text:

οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ φιλίαι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φόνωι διεκρίθητε

Already in τ these words were cancelled on the basis of MS evidence; a scholium by Fpc (f. 45v) presumably copied directly from τ tells us: τοῦτο οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν ἑτέροις παλαιοῖς βιβλίοις.[19] What these old

col. 1 in the strophe (Abel 104, 7) καλεῖται δὲ περιοδικόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μέτρου τι εἶδος ἢ ἰαμβικοῦ ἢ τροχαικοῦ ἢ ἑτέρου τινός, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς περίοδος καλεῖται τὸ ὑπεράνω τῶν δ' συλλαβῶν σύστημα. μέχρι γὰρ δ' συλλαβῶν γνώριμοι οἱ πόδες, τὸ δὲ πλέον περίοδος. As is observed by Irigoin, *Les scholies* 82 n. 3 this definition is not found elsewhere, except in Triclinius, cf. the sch. Soph. *Aj.* 221 (not mentioned by Irigoin) quoted below. So it would seem to be his own. He never refers to Hephaestion for the name of this ἀσυνάρτητον, though he habitually does so in cases of other names of particular cola. In fact Hephaestion does not mention the colon; Triclinius must have taken the authority for it from the old scholia on Pindar (sch. Heph. A 168, 17-19 Consbr. was not known to Triclinius; this part of the A scholia is not preserved in *Ven. Marc. gr.* 483, cf. above n. 3). The definition used in the scholia on Pind. *Ol.* II is not met with in his commentaries on the dramatists except at Soph. *Aj.* 221 (*Par. gr.* 2711 f. 10r, *Ven. Marc. gr.* 470 f. 124r): ἀσυνάρτητον ἐξ ἰαμβικῆς καὶ τροχαικῆς βάσεως ὃ καλεῖται περίοδος. δύο γὰρ ἴαμβοι καὶ δύο τροχαῖοι περίοδος καλεῖται ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μέτρου τι εἶδος ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς περίοδος καλεῖται τὸ ὑπεράνω τῶν τεσσάρων συλλαβῶν σύστημα. Elsewhere he says e.g. at sch. *Pers.* 1009 in τ: ἰαμβικὰ ἑφθημιμερῆ περιοδικὰ καλούμενα διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἰαμβικῆς καὶ τροχαικῆς συζυγίας συγκεῖσθαι; cf. on Eur. *Hec.* 444 καλεῖται δὲ περίοδος διὰ τὸ συγκεῖσθαι ἐκ τροχαικῆς καὶ ἰαμβικῆς συζυγίας. ἔστι δὲ τῶν ἀσυναρτήτων and finally on *Sept.* 832 in T.

[17] The transposition is usually attributed to Schütz or Blomfield. Modern editors prefer Weil's δόμους ἑλόντες πατρώιους.

[18] According to older reports the MS *Selden supra* 18 (cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 73 and Bryson, *Contributions* 158) also omits these words; I have not seen this manuscript myself, but if the reports in this and some other cases are correct, the MS would seem to be worth investigating since it must have been influenced either by F or by a lost Triclinian MS.

[19] This short note has had something of a history, and a not very flattering one for Aeschylean scholarship. It was reported for the first time, as far as I know, by Wilamowitz in his apparatus *ad loc.* in this form: τοῦτο οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν πολλαῖς ἑτέραις βίβλοις. I do not know whether in Wilamowitz's

MSS were we have no means of knowing, though it is suggestive that Q also omits the words. When we turn to T we find nothing about old MSS: περισσὸν ἦν ἐνταῦθα τὸ οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ φιλίαι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ φόνωι διεκρίθητε καὶ ἄμετρον καὶ κοινόλεκτον. διὸ καὶ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. Thus we can see that in T Triclinius relied exclusively—or at any rate pretended to do so—on his metrical and stylistic grasp of the passage; at that time he had fully succeeded in applying the principle of strophic responsion and had no use for the testimony of old MSS. In τ on the other hand, he only had his old source(s) to guide him in the choral odes, and therefore we find him adducing this kind of evidence and not metrical arguments.

I shall also draw attention to the remarkable way in which the words in question have been marked out for deletion: they have been placed within daggers placed slightly above the line. There is a further case of marking disputed words in F^pc in this way, cf. on *Sept.* 721 below; nothing similar seems to be found in other Triclinian manuscripts.[20]

In Chapter III I discussed the meaning of the phrase ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ; it was seen that Triclinius thereby means ***deleted by me in the Thoman text*** and the expression does not preclude the pos-

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time F had been repaired as it is now; to-day a piece of paper has been pasted down the whole length of the inner margin in order to prevent the leaf from falling out, so that only the words τοῦτο οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν ἑτέροις παλ[.....] βιβλίοις can be read from a photograph. Still Wilamowitz's report is very inaccurate. In 1957 Fraenkel in the appendix to his paper on the *Septem* p. 58 printed from personal observation the scholium in this version: τοῦτο οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν ἑτέροις πολλοῖς βιβλίοις, adding in a note: 'Wilamowitz gibt den Wortlaut nicht genau'. That F beyond any reasonable doubt has παλ[.....] for all to see, even from a photograph, was then expressly pointed out by Dawe, *The MSS* 41 n. 1. One should have expected the matter to have been settled by Dawe's note. Alas, in Page's apparatus one reads on the intruded scholium 'abesse a multis libris notat F' though it appears that Page had F collated for him in the original. This may be considered the worst misreporting of F among the gross examples that I have already had occasion to mention; it is all the more incredible because the note in full is plainly legible in the MS itself. The paper pasted over the scholium is not only very thin so that the note can be read in the MS, but some earlier readers of F have loosened the paper just so much that there is no need to guess by reading through the paper. The scholium is written in F in the form printed by me.

[20] The habit of marking with a single dagger the end of a colon in the partly Triclinian autograph *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 is not comparable; on this phenomenon see Koster, *Autour* 12. This habit may be connected with the use of the dagger to indicate the end of passages marked as gnomes and found very often in F. I have not looked for parallels elsewhere; but see above chap. III n. 2 on *Vat. gr.* 2222.

sibility that some old manuscript(s) known to him did not carry the word or words in question. I also mentioned the fact that some of these 'Triclinian' emendations can be found in the MSS Q and K. Precisely here, Q does not carry the words cancelled by Triclinius in τ. Now Q is almost contemporary with Triclinius; it has been subscribed February 24th, 1301 by its scribe 'Αθανάσιος ὁ Σπονδίλης.[21] Turyn, *Aeschylus* 76 f. classed it among the Thoman MSS together with its probable relative K, but as has been pointed out by Dawe (*Collation* 21 f.), a comparison between e.g. O, Leiden, *Voss. gr.* Q4A and QK makes the distinction between 'ancient' and 'Byzantine' MSS 'an unreal one'. Moreover, Herington (*The Older Scholia* 17) points out that the scholia in Q, at least in the *Prometheus*, are predominantly A-scholia with a minority of Thoman ones. Thus Triclinius used ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ here as he does elsewhere; the Thoman manuscripts had the intruded scholium in the poetic text, but some old MSS referred to in τ by Triclinius did not have it. It stands to reason that the old manuscripts referred to cannot have included Q; a manuscript written in 1301 could never have been described as old by Triclinius at a date at least earlier than c. 1321-22. It is more probable that Triclinius knew the source (or one of the sources) of Q; Q at least cannot be described as Thoman, nor can its source—or the term Thoman would lose what little significance it still may have. It may be of some interest to notice that Q in the Theocritus part seems to have had something to do with Triclinius; here a second hand has entered Triclinian scholia in red ink. This may point to a possible genesis of Q in circles connected with Triclinius or Triclinian scholarship.[22]

Before leaving this section we should observe that F^{pc} adds σύν l. 884; most of the Thoman MSS and a few *veteres* omit the preposition which is necessary in the metrical analysis. Triclinius probably added it in τ to obtain trochaic metre; he had indeed already in τ written τροχαικὸν ἰθυφαλλικόν as he later did in T.[23]

There is nothing to say on the two anapaestic cola ll. 885-886 which are identical in τ and T.

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[21] For the date, formerly reported inaccurately, see Aubreton 97 and Turyn, *Sophocles* 41 n. 31.

[22] Wendel, *Entstehung u. Ueberlieferung d. Theokrit-Scholien* 194. Could this be the same red-ink hand that also made additions in the Aeschylus part ? On this see Herington, *The Older Scholia* 17.

[23] The MSS readings l. 884 are reported in Turyn, *Aeschylus* 90 and in Bryson, *Contributions* 85.

The following pair of strophe and antistrophe ll. 887-910 were not structured correctly in either manuscript. The reason why Triclinius never grasped the nature of this section was his failure to see that there is a line missing after l. 890. In τ he followed very closely the old colometry—in only one case does τ depart from the arrangement in M, and we shall see in a moment why he preferred to rearrange the cola ll. 887-889. Except for a few deviations, some of which we shall study presently, the colometry in the Thoman MSS L and F^{ac} is substantially identical with that of τ and M.

In T Triclinius based his analysis on the τ colometry and set out the section in the following way: lines 887-894 as strophe, 895-899 as antistrophe while 900-910 were divided into two systemata (900-905, 906-910). How did he arrive at this arrangement? Very probably he was led by the τ analysis.[24] In the section later recognised as strophe and antistrophe it can be seen from the scholia in τ that we have a sequence: 3 antispastic cola, 2 hemiolia, 1 monometer, 3 antispastic cola, 3 hemiolia. From this structure it was fairly easy to deduce strophe and antistrophe by emending the last of the three hemiolia. This colon very clearly shows by its treatment in the two recensions the difference between the earlier and the later approach. In this line 899 the MSS except F^{pc} have:

διχόφρονι πότμωι

F^{pc}, however, inserts a καὶ before διχόφρονι undoubtedly copied from τ.[25] If so, why did Triclinius feel this interpolation to be necessary? Enger made the same interpolation because he wanted to secure responsion; this object, as we have proved, cannot have been that of Triclinius in τ. The reason for the insertion in τ is that

[24] Obviously in T he is at pains to defend this extraordinary analysis. Concerning the remarkable metrical licence in the correspondence between the 4th and 5th colon in the strophe and antistrophe (891-893 = 897-898) he says in the scholium on ll. 887 ff. that there is οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν in the correspondence between ––⏑–––⏑⏑– and ⏑–⏑–⏑–⏑––⏑⏑–. I may observe that this is a favourite way of banishing any doubts that the reader may have, cf. sch. Soph. *El.* 145 and his note on Pind. *Ol.* XIII col. 5 in the strophe (Abel 384, 5 ff.) where he says that there is οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν in the fact that that the colon shows a metrical form not mentioned by Hephaestion. The same phrase also occurs at sch. Eur. *Or.* 1453. Variants may be found at sch. *Prom.* 538 (οὐδὲν ἀπεικός), 558 (οὐ χρὴ . . . θαυμάζειν), Eur. *Or.* 807 (οὐ θαῦμα), Ar. *Ran.* 1408 (μὴ θαυμάσῃς), Pind. *Ol.* V col. 7 (Abel 183, 5) in the strophe (οὐκ ἔξω λόγου). Curiously enough, in the commentary on the *Persae* he always says μὴ ξενίζου (sch. *Pers.* 532, 878 and 966).

[25] This reading has not been recorded from elsewhere.

Triclinius in his early work sought to establish rows of similar cola, and here καὶ effects a hemiolion to go with the two preceding cola 897 and 898, both of which in τ are hemiolia. Moreover, these hemiolia were effected by a revision of the Thoman colometry; the Thoman MSS write ll. 897-899 as two cola dividing after ἀραίω τ'. On the authority of his old MSS the hemiolia were restored by Triclinius apart from l. 899 where an interpolation was necessary. In T the interpolation is quietly dropped for reasons of strophic responsion; διχόφρονι πότμωι is said to be an ionic hypercatalectic monometer corresponding with θανάτων ἀραί l. 894.

The same tendency to effect rows of similar cola would seem to lie behind the only deviation from the old colometry at ll. 887-889. M and G arrange these lines thus

δι' εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι
τετυμμένοι δῆτα
ὁμοσπλάγχνων τε πλευρωμάτων

Led by the antispastic beginning of the first of these cola Triclinius proceeded to make all three cola antispastic which is why he wrote

δι' εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι
τετυμμένοι δῆτα θ' ὁμο-
σπλάγχνων τε πλευρωμάτων

In this way he obtained three antispastic cola: a hypercatalectic dimeter and two catalectic dimeters. Or so it seems; I cannot believe though, that the hypercatalectic dimeter was what Triclinius wanted to obtain—he must have scanned it as catalectic. In this connection I refer to my discussion above of hypercatalectic cola in τ. The θ' in the second colon should be assigned to Triclinius, since F^{pc} is the only MS to carry it.[26] This interpolation disappeared in T because there he was bent upon restoring responsion with l. 895 f.

δόμοισι καὶ σώμασιν

wherefore he wrote instead

τετυμμένοι δῆθ' ὁμο-

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[26] As far as I can see from F, F^{ac} had originally written τετυμμένοι δῆτα ὁμοσπλάγχνων τε. F^{pc} deleted ὁμο- and wrote θ' ὁμο after δῆτα, putting the two dots after ὁμο.

For the two *systemata* ll. 900-910 in T he also followed the old colometry accepted in τ. In the earlier recension ll. 900-905 were divided into seven cola, four hephthemimers, two hemiolia and a penthemimer, where LF^{ac} arrange in four cola joining the penthemimer καὶ θανάτου τέλος on to the following line. The cola in τ are regarded as antispastic. This is why he made innovations in l. 903. He had isolated three antispastic hephthemimers ll. 900-902 and had as the fourth colon

μενεῖ κτέανα τ' ἐπιγόνοις

To make this a hephthemimer like the preceding cola he wrote in τ:

μενεῖ κτέαν' ἐπιγόνοις [27]

Much to our surprise we find in T the text he corrected in τ. The reason is that in the later recension he gave up the antispastic analysis of cola 2, 3 and 4; instead he viewed these cola as iambic and returned to the traditional text which was more suitable for iambic analysis.

The following strophe and antistrophe were never correctly analysed for reasons we shall discuss presently. The colometry of ll. 911-931 in τ is on the whole identical with that of the old tradition apart from a few interesting deviations. From τ it was, again with a few exceptions, taken over by T. The reason for Triclinius' failure to see the real structure of this section was his deletion—already in τ—of ἐτύμως l. 919.

In F we find that F^{pc} has written a row of dots above this word. No scholium has been written to explain the reason why this deletion was thought necessary, but the T note is revealing. There it is stated (f. 74v) that it was made on MS authority, which Triclinius would never have admitted in T if he had had metrical reasons: οἱ γράφοντες οὐ φιλογαθῆς ἐτύμως οὐ καλῶς γράφουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἔν τινι τῶν παλαιῶν. διὸ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. We can therefore be quite certain that the deletion was made in τ for this reason.[28]

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[27] There can hardly be any doubt as to what lay before Triclinius when he set to work on τ. Apart from Q and F^{pc} all MSS have κτέανα τ' ἐπιγόνοις. It is not without interest to observe the similarities between Q and the earlier recension; Triclinius may have got his text from the source he had in common with Q. Page notes correctly that κτέαν' ἐπιγόνοις is the F^{pc} reading.

[28] Murray's note *ad loc.* that τῶν παλαιῶν in the T scholium are Thoman MSS must be a lapse. Page does not mention Triclinius' testimony here, though he does so at *Sept.* 101. See my note 49 below on this.

With a text where ἐτύμως had been deleted, Triclinius would obviously be unable to grasp the structure of the lines. He recognised the identity of the metre in ll. 911-913 and 923-925, and took these parts as strophe and antistrophe, the rest of the section being two *systemata* of seven and six cola respectively. Let us see how he came to this arrangement from τ. In the earlier recension he had analysed ll. 915-921 as six acatalectic trimeters and a hephthemimer, ll. 922-925 as five hephthemimers and finally ll. 926-931 as two acatalectic dimeters, a choriambic hephthemimer, two acatalectic and one catalectic trimeter. Lines 909-910 are not analysed; at least there is no scholium in F on these cola, which seem to be hemiolia. Perhaps F^{pc} overlooked a scholium here. Lastly ll. 911-914 are described as two brachycatalectic trimeters and two hephthemimers.

The strong tendency toward arranging the lines in blocks of similar cola can be seen very clearly in the lines 915-931. Here both M and GLF^{ac} agree to divide after προπέμπει and αὐτοπήμων so as to arrange ll. 915-917 in two cola. Triclinius, bent upon making these lines conform with what he found in the following lines, divided them into three cola thus:

δόμων μάλ' ἀχὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς
προπέμπει δαικτὴρ γόος
αὐτόστονος τ' αὐτοπήμων

To make l. 917 a correct acatalectic dimeter he interpolated τ'.[11] The whole arrangement of lines 911-921 was taken over in T, the first four cola of which became the strophe, and the rest of the lines a system of seven cola.

In what was later seen by him to be the antistrophe, Triclinius in τ found a row of five hephthemimers by following the old tradition against the Thoman manuscripts. With M in l. 922 he divided ἀ||θλίοισιν and in the next line after ἐρξάτην. Then he saw that the colon

πολλὰ μὲν πολίταις

would only amount to a hemiolion; consequently he wrote πολιήταις, a remedy he had also used at *Pers.* 556 and *Eum.* 980. But in T these four cola ll. 922-925 were regarded as an antistrophe; there-

[29] In F the τ' has been inserted by F^{pc}.

fore on the basis of his τ arrangement of ll. 911-914 he proceeded to make these cola ll. 922-925 into cola of the same type. He returned to the Thoman arrangement of 922-923 and dropped πολιῆταις. We should also mention that in l. 925 in τ he corrected δαίδι into δαί to get a hephthemimer, thus agreeing with some of the *veteres* (MIAP). In T he kept this text, though the colon there is regarded as a περιοδικόν.

In connection with my comments on the choriambic metre in τ it is of some interest to notice that Triclinius in τ found choriambic metre in ll. 928-931. Here the choriambs are, as he would have said, ἐν τάξει.

Finally we should notice that in T ὁπόσαι l. 928 is changed into ὅσαι. In both recensions the colon is an acatalectic antispastic dimeter, but whereas in τ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – could be so described, in T this feat was impossible. Triclinius had to correct in order to avoid the absurdity of an antispastic hypercatalectic dimeter consisting of an antispast and an ionic *a maiore*.

Here it seems useful to mention a point so far not discussed. We saw that both l. 921 and ll. 922-925 were arranged as hephthemimers; why then did Triclinius not take l. 921 together with ll. 922-925? It may be replied that 922 ff. belong to the antistrophe, but in τ Triclinius did not see that. We may also put the question in this way: How was he led to isolate the blocks of cola in τ? The answer is that he was directed by the indications of speakers. His metrical analysis followed very closely the sections formed by the two alternating half-choruses in this part of the play. And from F it appears that the indications of speakers had been revised by F^{pc}.

The alternation between the two choruses begin at l. 871. Here we have the first scholium in F. The next scholium occurs at l. 875 where the other half-chorus begins; here again we have a scholium. The same situation can be seen at ll. 879, 885, 889, 891 etc. In short, where we have an indication of speaker we also find a metrical scholium analysing that particular section; these scholia are those marked with a cross in F, and must be distinguished from the supralinear or marginal scholia analysing the single colon. I do not intend to marshal the whole evidence; a few remarks will suffice. One of the most telling cases occurs at ll. 900 ff. As we saw, Triclinius took ll. 900-905 as one section of seven cola. Now F^{ac} wrote ἡμιχ opposite l. 901 and l. 903. These indications have been deleted

by F^pc in the same way in which F^pc deletes elsewhere, by suprascript dots. Again at ll. 906-908, the next section in τ, the note ἡμιχ opposite l. 908 has been deleted by F^pc in the same way, and F^pc has added from τ the note opposite l. 906.[30] By following these signposts Triclinius came to adopt the structure applied in τ, and which was later taken over in T.

Thus here in the last pair of strophe and antistrophe ll. 932-960 he isolated four sections, on the basis of the note ἡμιχ written at ll. 933, 941, 947 and 951. In T as we may guess he regarded these sections as four *systemata*, whereas in τ he had no particular label for them, but only noted in the scholia four blocks of cola, all of them antispastic. His insistence that all the cola inside the blocks should be of the same type can be observed at work again in this case. The first section in τ ll. 932-940 consists of 9 hemiolia. The Thoman MSS and M agree in dividing this passage into 7 cola; thus there is a fair chance that the arrangement in τ is Triclinius' own revision to effect a row of hemiolia. In the following two places he deviates from the transmitted colometry: Line 933 he divided into two cola where the consensus MGLF^ac has one colon

ὁμόσποροι δῆτα
καὶ πανωλέθριοι

Lines 937-938 in the same MSS are arranged in this way

πέπαυται δ' ἔχθος ἐν δὲ γαίαι
ζωᾶ φονορρύτωι μεμίκται

To obtain hemiolia Triclinius divides after ἔχθος and ζωᾶ. Further he wrote

πέπαυται δέ γ' ἔχθος

to adjust the metre and have a full hemiolion.[31] It is characteristic that in T Triclinius does not keep this arrangement, but tacitly drops the interpolation in l. 937 since he has no use for it. In the same way he writes in T l. 933 as it is in MGLF^ac. A clear difference in approach also appears in the treatment of l. 936. Since the analysis in τ is antispastic, νείκεος is read with synizesis to avoid – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – and to make – – – ⏑ – – a regular hemiolion. Later, of

[30] F^pc wrote ἡμιχ using a majuscule H while F^ac always used a minuscule η in these notes.

[31] As far as I know this F^pc reading occurs in no other MS. On T see above.

course, he felt no need to do so, and in T the colon is regarded as a choriambic catalectic dimeter. Finally, the colometry ll. 937-938 returns to the old tradition. In short, nothing is left in T of the remodelling in τ. From T we should never guess that Triclinius had once deviated from the old colometry, or that earlier he had quite different metrical conceptions. But why does he reject his former ideas in T? In T line 933 has not πανωλέθριοι but the correct πανώλεθροι, thus the hemiolic analysis breaks down and the two cola established in τ have of necessity to be taken together as a catalectic trimeter. At lines 937-938 he hit upon the correct φονορρύτωι, and to make metrical sense out of the lines he transposed ζωά to l. 938 in order to constitute an ionic hypercatalectic dimeter.

In the next block ll. 941-946 he made no textual innovations in T, accordingly following τ closely. In the earlier recension he had arranged these lines into six cola, a catalectic trimeter and five hephthemimers. To obtain this structure he changed the old colometry; MGL and F^{ac} all divide after χρημάτων; Triclinius preferred to divide after πικρὸς and after κακός. The resulting colon δὲ χρημάτων κακός was faulty since it could be nothing but a hemiolion. He therefore interpolated a καὶ before κακός and upheld it in T.[32]

In the four cola ll. 947-950 the arrangement is identical in all our MSS. Here Triclinius detected a catalectic trimeter + three hephthemimers. Now line 949 reads in the pre-Triclinian MSS ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γᾶς and is a colon which does not lend itself to Triclinius' analysis; consequently we find him writing in τ:

ὑπαὶ δὲ σώματι γᾶς.[33]

The last colon in this series πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται is somewhat puzzling for in τ we should expect to have the sequence – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

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[32] No doubt καὶ in F is an addition from τ by F^{pc}, in spite of Dawe's (*The MSS* 40) assertion to the contrary. On the τ analysis of l. 941 I should like to add that it certainly is puzzling to find this colon described as antispastic; and still more so to find the same opinion in T. Unfortunately Dindorf made a serious blunder here in his edition Phil. 21, 1864, 220 where he prints τὸ α′ ἀντισπαστικὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ διιάμβου διτροχαίου καὶ κρητικοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον, ἢ δακτυλικόν, ὃ καλεῖται φαλαίκειον. Of course Triclinius never dreamt of taking the colon as dactylic; what he says is ἢ δακτύλου. I do not know his authority for the name φαλαίκειον for this colon; Hephaestion 32, 21 Consbr. gives no example.

[33] In F ὑπαὶ is clearly the F^{pc} reading; for this emendation cf. *Ag.* 1164. I should like to add that though Page's apparatus on l. 947 seems to suggest a remarkable MFT agreement, this is not so. The omission of ὦ is by F^{pc}; F^{ac} had the interjection in the text.

described as an antispastic hemiolion. I point this out because it illustrates the character of τ as a working copy where more advanced stages of Triclinius' work stand peacefully side by side with less advanced stages.

The final block of cola in the first *threnos* ll. 951-960 is summarily described in τ as ten antispastic cola of various lengths. The analysis of the actual text in τ reveals the structure three acatalectic dimeters, two hephthemimers, two penthemimers, two hemiolia and one penthemimer.

Let us see how he arrived at this arrangement. There is no evidence for Triclinius' having known the double reading in l. 952 preserved in M. He obviously worked from a text that had ll. 951-952

ἰὼ πολλοῖς ἐπανθήσαντες
πόνοισί γε δόμοις

This arrangement and text were clearly unacceptable in his view,[34] so he proceeded to revise it by dividing ἐπανθήσαν|| and interpolating ἐν in the second colon:

πόνοισί γ' ἐν δόμοις [35]

By these means he obtained two hephthemimers. Then he was faced with

τελευτᾶι δ' ἐπηλάλαξαν ἀραὶ
τὸν ὄξυν νόμον τετραμμένου
παντρόπωι [36]

l. 953 he made an acatalectic dimeter by dividing before ἀραί; then he obtained two hephthemimers by placing colon-end at νόμον and παντρόπωι. Next in the MSS came

φυγᾶι γένους
ἔστακε δ' ἄτας τρόπαιον ἐν πύλαις

[34] There is reason to think that he would avoid hypercatalectic cola; in τ he never mentions such cola. Moreover πόνοισί γε δόμοις would yield a very unattractive penthemimer.

[35] F^{pc} has interpolated ἐν in F; it is doubtful whether δόμοισι is the F^{ac} reading, most likely F^{ac} had δόμοι. I have not found δόμοισι elsewhere.

[36] M takes ἀραί with the next colon; the Thoman MSS have the arrangement given. Cf. Dawe, *Collation* 291 for the textual differences l. 953 in the MSS.

the former of which cola he made into a penthemimer by inserting τοῦ before γένους.[37] He further divided after ἄτας so as to have another penthemimer followed by a hemiolion. In all our MSS except T πύλαις is followed by the phrase

ἐν αἷς ἐθείνοντο

In F Fpc has put daggers before and after these words; obviously they were to be deleted as we can see from T (cf. above on l. 885). Here T (f. 76r) is explicit:

περισσὸν ἦν ἐνταῦθα εἰς τὸ ἐν πύλαις τὸ ἐν αἷς ἐθείνοντο. διὸ καὶ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ.

Triclinius says nothing about his reasons, but since the deletion was made already in τ he must have had MS authority. We had occasion to observe that in τ deletions of this type are exclusively made on such a basis and not for metrical reasons. And since neither T nor τ acknowledge strophic responsion here, we are entitled to conclude that he must have had a source without these words.

In order to proceed from τ to T we may for a moment observe what follows in the T scholium just quoted. There he continues ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τοῦ συστήματος κῶλα οὕτω χρὴ γράφεσθαι ὡς διωρθώθη παρ' ἡμῶν. εὕρηται γὰρ μόλις καὶ ἔν τινι τῶν ἄγαν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων οὑτωσὶ κείμενα. This refers, if I am not mistaken, to his interpolation at l. 952 made already in τ, and now seen to rest on MS authority. This is why he keeps the text in T. Apart from this he does not feel particularly sympathetic towards his earlier attempt. At line 954 ff. he goes back to the old colometry

ἀραὶ τὸν ὄξυν νόμον τετραμμένου
παντρόπωι φυγᾶι γένους

Why he gave up the earlier colometry is not wholly clear; one reason may have been his detection of the trochaic colon

παντρόπωι φυγᾶι γένους

which made him drop his earlier interpolation in favour of a regular εὐριπίδειον. Apart from this colon he did not give up the antispastic

[37] Fpc added τοῦ above the line and made it clear by a long stroke downwards that the word was not a gloss but an addition to the poetic text. Similarly Fpc added γὰρ ἂν at *Sept.* 566, cf. above chap. III n. 24.

analysis, but evidently preferred the arrangement of the dimeters and trimeters used in τ on the basis of the old colometry.

Lines 961-965 do not require comment; more interesting are his dealings with the section 966-988, in modern editions constituting strophe and antistrophe. This is recognised in T where ll. 966-974 are the strophe, and ll. 978-985 the antistrophe, while ll. 975-977 and ll. 986-988 are ἐφύμνια κατὰ περικοπήν. Basically this structure appears also in τ where we have on ll. 986-988 the remark ὅμοια τοῖς ἄνω but without any mention of strophe and antistrophe. It is difficult to be certain of the τ analysis of the single cola, since either F^pc did not copy all notes in τ or τ itself was deficient.

Colometrically this section is obscure. It is impossible to be certain whether in τ Triclinius followed the old tradition, because in this part the short cola are likely to be written together. Broadly speaking, it seems that τ, apart from the cases to be discussed next, followed the M colometry, and that T in its turn followed τ.

The only section that can profitably be discussed here is the row of seven iambic cola in τ ll. 980-985 including the repetition of l. 993 after l. 985. In T (f. 77r) Triclinius was the first to see that this repetition was wrong: οὕτω δὲ χρὴ γράφειν ταῦτα ὡς παρ' ἡμῶν (ἡμῖν T) διωρθώθη καὶ μὴ προτιθέναι τοῦ παρόντος ἐφυμνίου τὸ ὀλοὰ λέγειν. ἀμαθεῖς γάρ τινες συνέχεαν ταῦτα μεταθέντες τὰ κῶλα.

The disputed words are still in F; the metrical corrections made on the basis of the strophic responsion cannot be found in τ. In the same way there is no trace in τ of Triclinius' revision in T of l. 982, advertised in T (f. 76v) as follows: οὕτω δὲ χρὴ γράφειν τὰ κῶλα ὡς διωρθώθη παρ' ἡμῶν ἵν' οἰκείως ἔχῃ πρὸς τὰ τῆς στροφῆς. Both these cases are to be ascribed to Triclinius' own metrical analysis; they are not based on MS authority.[38]

From l. 989 until the iambic lines 1005 ff. τ divided the lines into nine dimeters (ll. 989-997) followed by a section distinguished by alternating iambic monometers and trochaic hephthemimers (ll. 998-1004), cf. plate 1. For the first part Triclinius seems to have

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[38] At l. 983, if we were to believe Page, another agreement, and an exclusive one at that, between F and T is to be found. Again, this is due to a misreport. No one can seriously maintain that τάλανα πάθεν (f. 46v) was what F originally wrote; the long stroke at the end of the last α in τάλανα discloses the fact that the scribe wanted to cover the space left when καὶ was deleted; and πάθεν is F^pc for πάθον F^ac, since the ε is written over an erasure.

followed the old tradition. The crucial point in these lines is the F text at l. 994. There we find

ἰὼ ἰὼ πόνος οὔφ' ὑμῖν

In his paper on F (*The MSS* 40) Dawe maintained that here we have an F^acT agreement, for in T we have ἰὼ ἰὼ πόνος οὔφ' ἡμῖν against ἰὼ πόνος οὔφ' ἡμῖν ἐξημμένος in the Thoman MSS and ἰὼ πόνος in the *veteres*.

It is out of the question that the second ἰώ could have been added by F^pc; and so far Dawe is correct. But there is something in F that makes us pause and begin to doubt whether the case for an exclusive F^acT agreement is as strong as Dawe would have us believe. The Thoman scholia (f. 47r) have quite unmistakably left room for something to be added after ὑμῖν, and what could that have been except ἐξημμένος? F^pc did not add it because it was not in τ. I hazard the guess that while writing the scholia F^ac noticed that ἐξημμένος had not been copied; having made room for it he somehow after all forgot to add it. The seeming agreement F^acT thus amounts to nothing more than the possibly accidental writing of ἰὼ ἰώ by F^ac, undoubtedly occasioned by the following lines where ἰὼ ἰώ is in the Thoman MSS several times.[39]

The deletion in τ of ἐξημμένος must be a borrowing from an old source, witness the omission in K^ac (cf. above p. 19). Similarly Triclinius' desire to have a row of dimeters made him write

καὶ τῆι χθονὶ πρὸ πάντων γ' ἐμοί

in l. 995.[40]

In T Triclinius arranged these dimeters in strophe (989-992) and antistrophe (993-997). It is easy to see how he was misled to do so. By removing the line repeated after l. 985 from 993 to a position after 998 he could not fail to be deceived by the correspondence, between 993bis and 993. He followed τ for the colometry, and made

[39] It should also be remembered that K^ac has ἰὼ πόνος οὔφ' ἡμῖν.

[40] F^pc inserted τῆι in F. I will admit that I have not been able to find any explanation of the somewhat disturbing fact that F^acT do agree l. 997: ἰὼ ἰὼ τὸ πρόσω τ' ἐμοὶ seems to be the F^ac reading elsewhere only exhibited in T. How this may be explained I do not know at present; at any rate I think my basic explanation of the relation between F^acF^pc and T can stand. I admit, however, that I am defeated here until some MS is unearthed that proves this reading to have been in pre-Triclinian MSS, as I am certain it was, unless, of course, one is prepared to admit that the F^acF^pcT agreement *proves* the reading to be pre-Triclinian.

a few textual changes to obtain syllabic correspondence e.g. writing διεκπερῶν l. 989 instead of διαπερῶν. At l. 994 in τ he had already rejected ἐξημμένος. This emendation he now defended in a scholium οἱ γράφοντες οὐφ' ὑμῖν ἐξημμένος ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ περὶ τῶν μέτρων. περισσὸν τοίνυν ὂν τὸ ἐξημμένος ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἡμῶν ἵν' οἰκεῖον ἦι τὸ κῶλον τῶι τῆς στροφῆς. The origin of the deletion was a MS without the words, as, for example K^{ac}; the reasons adduced in T have nothing to do with the deletion in τ.

The block ll. 998-1004 in τ is structured in a curious way. Triclinius simply generalized a double ἰὼ ἰώ the whole way through this passage, and analysed it as alternating between an iambic monometer and a trochaic hephthemimer.[41] The same arrangement is employed in T, though the MSS do not lend support to this. At any rate Triclinius deletes the words ἐτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα in l. 999, cf. above p. 18; whether he did so because the text with these words did not lend itself to his analysis (trochaic hephthemimers) or he actually knew MSS without the words, we cannot say for certain, since T as usual only adduces metrical reasons.[42] There is, however, a fair probability that the deletion was made with MS support

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[41] For the details cf. Dawe, *Collation* 292 f. The only MS to have ἰὼ twice in the majority of cases is Δ = Moscow, *olim* Sinod. Bibl. 508 (on this MS see Turyn, *Aeschylus* 57 f.).

[42] It is certainly interesting that apart from the Triclinian manuscripts and M, only Δ and the Athos MS Ἰβήρων 209 omit these words. Unfortunately the Moscow MS has been inaccessible to me; it ought to be studied further, since it may have been influenced by the Triclinian recension(s) or alternatively represents one of the old sources available to Triclinius. Still more interesting is the Athos MS if Dawe, *Collation* 63 is correct in stating that it exhibits indications of strophe and antistrophe. Dawe appositely points out that such notes can only have been derived from Triclinius. Moreover, the MS contains scholia in a recension unknown from other sources, cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 120 and Dawe, *Collation* 99 and 118. I hope to return to this MS on a later occasion; for the present I refer to Turyn, *Euripides* 325 ff. where further literature may be found. It has been impossible for me to obtain microfilms of the MS in time to include material from it in the present discussion; however, Mr. Lars Nørgaard who has examined the MS briefly on my behalf tells me that he doubts Dawe's statement as to the above indications of strophe and antistrophe. He also tells me that the MS has been written by seven different hands: I. ff. 1-16v, II. ff. 17r-30, III. ff. 31-85v, IV. ff. 86r-106v, ff. 107r-119v, VI. ff. 120-143v, VII. ff. 144 end.

In the following I have pointed out some striking readings common to Triclinius and the Athos MS, cf. nn. 49, 50, 64 and 86; cf. also Dawe, *Collation* 63 f. Further it appears from Dawe, *Collation* 28 ff. that the Athos and the Moscow MSS belong together and have some affiliations with M.

since it took place already in τ. The same applies to the preceding deletion at l. 994.

In F the insertion of ἐν l. 1001 by F^{pc}, though not Triclinius' own, is necessary to make up a hephthemimer, but it creates a metrical difficulty also found in ll. 1003 and 1004, namely an iamb in the trochaic hephthemimer. Still Triclinius keeps these anomalies in T and asserts in his scholium on l. 998 (f. 77v): ὅτι τινὰ τῶν κώλων οὐ μόνον διὰ μέσου καὶ χορείους ἔχει ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰάμβους. καὶ ἔστι δῆλον ἐκ τούτων ὅτι τὸ τροχαικὸν μέτρον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἴαμβον δέχεται εἰ καί τισιν οὐ δοκεῖ τοῦτο. Similarly he defends the iambs at *Pers.* 125.[43]

From this analysis of the end of the *Septem* we shall proceed with the analysis of the remaining choral odes in this play, none of which are subjected to the detailed treatment we have found at the end of the play. I do not, however, propose to carry out the following analysis in the exhaustive way I have done until now, but in presenting the main characteristics of Triclinius' work I shall limit myself to the most illustrative cases.

We shall begin with the *parodos* ll. 78-180. Here we meet with a problem that makes analysis of most of the choral songs in τ very difficult. Triclinius describes the metrical structure of the *parodos* in this way:

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[43] The licence of iambs in trochaic cola is also recognised in the *epitome*, cf. Appendix II l. 14. It would appear that he had this doctrine from Trichas 371, 27 Consbr. Now at this point in *Ven. Marc.* 483 (f. 70v) ἴαμβον is a supralinear addition by—if I am not mistaken—Nicolaus Triclines who wrote this part of the MS. He must have added the word from his exemplar since ἴαμβον occurs in MSS not influenced by *Marc. gr.* 483, e.g. *Par. gr.* 2881 (P in Consbruch's edition; on this MS see also Irigoin, *Les scholies* 84. This manuscript belongs to a group of three MSS which I suppose originated in Florence). Triclinius probably became aware of the doctrine during his work on Pindar. In the same MS *Ven. Marc.* 483, we find a very revealing remark on Tzetzes' analysis of the 9th colon in the epode *Ol.* IV (f. 123r). Tzetzes says that the colon ⏑––⏑ –⏑– is a περίοδος; in the margin Triclinius wrote (cf. Drachmann's edition of Tzetzes 65, 7): τροχαικόν ἐστι τοῦτο ἰάμβου ἀρχομένου· δέχεται γὰρ καὶ ἴαμβον τὸ μέτρον τοῦτο. And in his scholia on Pindar Triclinius describes this colon (Abel 172, 16 ff.) τὸ θ′ τροχαικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερὲς ἰάμβου ἀρχομένου· δέχεται δὲ καὶ ἴαμβον τὸ τοιοῦτον μέτρον. Finally he brought this doctrine into his text of Hephaestion; at Heph. 17, 17 Consbr. *Marc.* 483 (f. 22v) originally had τροχαῖον τρίβραχυν ἀνάπαιστον καὶ δάκτυλον (as had the exemplar A where however ἀνάπαιστον has been deleted by suprascript dots—does this derive from Triclinius ?). When Triclinius went over the MS he completely erased ἀνάπαιστον and wrote ἴαμβον instead.

> ὁ παρὼν χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ κώλων ριδʹ ὧν τὰ μέν ἐστι χοριαμβικά, τὰ δέ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ ἀντισπαστικά, πενθημιμερῆ καὶ ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ ἡμιόλια καὶ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα ὧν τελευταῖον μνήστορες ἐστέ μοι· οὕτω δὲ χρὴ μετρηθῆναι μᾶλλον ἵν' εἴη κατ' ἄλληλα τὰ κῶλα ὡς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων χορῶν.

As I have pointed out earlier this note gives a clue to Triclinius' metrical practice in τ. He wanted to establish cola of a similar type, and the lengths of cola which he mentions here are those regularly employed in τ. The note also proves that his revision was carried out in a Thoman MS with a colometry similar to that in F^{ac}. But the summary description makes it almost impossible, in view of the close similarity of choriambic and antispastic cola, to be certain of the precise analysis of a particular colon. It has been pointed out several times that Triclinius' treatment of the choriambic metre is very peculiar in τ. In this song he cannot by choriambic mean anything else than what he means in his analysis of Euripides in *Laur.* 32, 2. On the other hand it is tolerably certain that he cannot have used choriambic here in the sense in which the term is used in the scholia on the stanzas of this play, where strophic responsion is recognised; in this song the choriambics are, except for a few cases, definitely not ἐν τάξει.

The alternative analysis into antispasts excludes this possibility. In fact most of these cola could easily have been described as antispasts; the choriambic analysis proposed seems to connect Triclinius' work here with that on Euripides in *Laur.* 32, 2.

We are not helped very much by the close analysis in T, which often deviates from the early colometry. This uncertainty as to the precise analysis of the cola in τ makes it difficult in a number of cases to state the possible metrical significance of Triclinian emendation or redivision of colometry.

The colometry of this song is basically identical in our MSS $MGLF^{ac}$, so we must infer that where τ deviates, the reason is that Triclinius has deliberately changed what he found in the MSS.

The first instance to consider in this song is at ll. 83 ff. We cannot be certain of the Thoman text here, for the MSS show a bewildering variety of readings.[44] But probably Triclinius was acquainted with the text

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[44] For the details cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 89.

ἐλεδέμνας πεδιοπλόκτυπός τε ὠτὶ (vel ὠσὶ)
χρίμπτεται βοᾶ ποτᾶται βρέμει

since this is substantially what is in GLF^{ac}K and numerous Thoman MSS. In τ he read

ἐλεδέμνας πεδιοπλόκτυπός
τ' ἐγχρίμπτεται βοᾶ ποτᾶται βρέμει

and the lines are the same in T except that βρέμει has been joined on to the next colon. Triclinius, as it will be seen, had already dropped in τ the ὠτί or ὠσί exhibited in many MSS. Since the result τ' ἐγχρίμπτεται is also in O, Leiden, *Voss. gr.* Q4A [45] Triclinius must have modelled his text on old MS evidence. The cola in τ can be described—and probably were so analysed by him—as an acatalectic dimeter and a catalectic trimeter. While the first of these cola as a type is referred to in the scholium on *Sept.* 78, the second is not. It is quite impossible that this colon could be regarded as anything else than a catalectic trimeter. Either the scholium is deficient, or it must be earlier than the stage of analysis actually represented by the F^{pc} revision. Let us proceed and see which of these alternatives the further analysis will give us reason to prefer. Although he chose to write as he did in τ on MS authority, metrical reasons may also have been involved; in τ the second colon matches the following one, which is also a catalectic trimeter

δ' ἀμαχέτου δίκαν ὕδατος ὀροκτύπου

I mentioned above that βρέμει l. 85 was transposed in T to the following colon; he did so in order to obtain an iambic colon

τ' ἐγχρίμπτεται βοᾶ ποτᾶται

The colometry at l. 90 (cf. plate 3) will probably give the answer to the problem raised above about the relation between scholium and text. For here we have an indisputable hypercatalectic dimeter

ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς
εὐτρεπής. . . .

Thus F^{pc} divides on the basis of τ. Since T also exhibits this arrangement I will not readily admit the possibility that F^{pc} may

[45] This MS is, according to Irigoin, *Pindare* 259, to be dated "en tout cas avant 1320". It is very tempting to think that it could have been at Thessalonica, since it was owned by one Demetrius Cabasilas, cf. p. 51.

have put his dots wrongly. The pre-Triclinian colometry divides after εὐτρεπής or after εὐ- (MG). It appears that the old tradition in MG yields a length recognised in the τ scholium, a brachycatalectic trimeter; the fact that F^pc^T agree, shows that Triclinius may originally have followed the old colometry—and this stage is represented by the scholium—but later he changed it to its present state in F^pc^T. Moreover, instead of the colon now in F^pc^

εὐτρεπὴς ἐπὶ πόλιν διώκων

which is another hypercatalectic dimeter, an original τ division after εὐ- will render the colon a regular acatalectic dimeter, another type explicitly recognized in the long scholium on *Sept.* 78. But if this is correct we may notice that F^pc^, and thus τ, bears no trace of Triclinius' later emendation of πόλιν into πτόλιν to obtain trochaic metre.

There can be no doubt that the colometry in τ at l. 95 f. is the result of a redivision by Triclinius. Our MSS agree in this arrangement and text:

πότερα δῆτ' ἐγὼ ποτιπέσω βρέτη||δαιμόνων.

Against this consensus, F^pc^ exhibits

πότερα δῆτ' ἐγὼ ποτι-
πέσω βρέτας δαιμόνων

which can only be explained as an effort to make up two catalectic dimeters; and by the inclusion of δαιμόνων in the second colon, a third catalectic dimeter is obtained

ἰὼ μάκαρες εὔεδροι

In T Triclinius did not care for this arrangement. He seems to have attached more importance to the fact that by dividing after ποτιπέσω he could have an antispastic colon:

βρέτη δαιμόνων

Then he corrected πότερα into πότερον in order to make the colon properly ionic—διὰ τὸ μέτρον as the supralinear note in T tells us.[46]

Again at l. 100 we find him proposing a new colometry in τ. This line is written as one colon in the MSS; in τ we find:

[46] The emendation is obviously his own, cf. Bryson's list of Triclinian interpolations.

ἀκούετ' ἢ οὐκ ἀκού-
ετ' ἀσπίδων κτύπον

probably scanned as two hemiolia. The following colon

πέπλων καὶ στεφέων

is also a hemiolion, and thus the colometrical redivision falls in line with the tendency we have previously observed. In T he returns to the old colometry and writes the whole of l. 100 as one colon; and now he saw that he could make the line iambic by a slight correction: οὐ χρὴ. . .τιθέναι τὸ ἢ εἰς τὸ ἀκούετε. . .ἵν' εἴη ὁ στίχος ἴαμβος τρίμετρος. καὶ τούτου γὰρ χωρίς, ὑγιὴς ὁ λόγος τυγχάνει· διὸ καὶ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. This is how the line stands in T:

ἀκούετ' οὐκ ἀκούετ' ἀσπίδων κτύπον

No doubt this metrically founded correction should be regarded as his own invention. No other MS has the line in this peculiar shape.

Then follows at l. 102 a very telling case: the MSS MGLF^{ac} all have as one colon

ἀμφὶ λιτὰν ἕξομεν

Triclinius, however, as we saw above, placed colon-end after στεφέων l. 101 and took

ποτ' εἰ μὴ νῦν ἀμφὶ λιτὰν

as one colon, deleting ἕξομεν.[47] This is reflected in F^{pc} where ἕξομεν has been cancelled with a stroke of the pen; likewise the scholium in F, to which a reference-sign above the word refers, has been marked out for deletion.[48] Why was ἕξομεν deleted? Metrical reasons will hardly account for this extraordinary intervention. In the preceding pages we have emphasized the fact that as a rule these violent corrections were made—at least where we can control them—upon MS evidence. Also in the later edition the word was omitted, with the explanation: καὶ τὸ ἕξομεν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀμφὶ λιτὰν οὐκ ἦν ἔν τινι τῶν ἄγαν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων· διὸ ἐξεβλήθη καὶ τοῦτο (this follows immediately after the remarks on ἢ l. 100 quoted above).

We find here that Triclinius even in T has no 'better' arguments

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[47] This deletion was noticed by Dawe, *The MSS* 38 f.

[48] Cf. p. 19 above.

than MS evidence; if he had had the slightest metrical argument he would surely have offered it for what it might have been worth. Thus we are entitled to infer that the deletion in the earlier recension was made for the same reasons; the word was omitted in one of his sources.[49]

Five lines later we find in F^{pc}

παλαίχθων ἄρης τὰν τεὰν

with γᾶν written by F^{ac}, but cancelled by F^{pc} with a stroke of the pen. This version is only found in a very restricted number of MSS in addition to F^{pc} (which is not mentioned by Page), the intruded gloss γᾶν is absent from MIT and B^{2pc}.[50] One may suggest that γᾶν could have been deleted on exclusively metrical grounds, since the result is a regular catalectic dimeter (τ reads τεάν with synizesis), but with γᾶν in the text Triclinius would have had to accept the structure ⏑––⏑––⏑–– (a hypercatalectic dimeter) or ⏑––⏑–––– (an acatalectic dimeter with a dispondee). The latter may not have been impossible, so we should probably conclude that he primarily relied on MS support. Why he read τεάν with synizesis is puzzling, for he does not do so in T. A possible explanation is that he read so *before* he deleted γᾶν, in order to avoid the hypercatalectic colon; this is, however, pure guess-work.

At l. 106 we have a Triclinian interpolation not repeated later in T. MSS before and after τ have ἔπιδ' ἔπιδε πόλιν. Unable to find metrical sense in these seven short syllables Triclinius applies one

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[49] I fail to see the reason for Page's statement here that Triclinius said that ἕξομεν was omitted in one of his old manuscripts, since he does not adduce Triclinius' similar testimonies in other cases. Particularly here I find the note very surprising, for the reader is *not* told that the word was also deleted by F^{pc}. Triclinius' testimony as to ancient MSS occurs in the scholia on *Prom.* 233, 235 (where I, Athos, 'Ιβήρων 209 has the reading mentioned), 394 (attested in MBHD), 451, 568 (where M^{syp} has the reading), 617, 682, 770; in the *Septem*, apart from the present case at 102 we find old MSS cited at 959 (cf. p. 176); *Pers.* 632 (cf. p. 131). Of these instances only *Sept.* 102 and *Pers.* 1025 (cf. p. 131) have been adduced by Page.

[50] Cf. Page's apparatus and Dawe, *Collation* 252. For the character of the Athos MS I, I refer to n. 42 above; this MS probably has something to do with Triclinius. On B I should like to emphasize that though its original stock was written and subscribed by Manuel Spheneas in 1287 (Turyn, *Aeschylus* 54 f.) we have no evidence for the date of B^{2}, he may be post-Triclinian. Dawe, *Collation* 113 suggests that the B$^{2\gamma\rho}$ is a genuine preservation of an ancient reading; and so it is, nevertheless it should be considered a correction made from collation.

of his favourite remedies and writes πτόλιν [51] probably regarding the result as a penthemimer. T rejected this reading and took the colon as a penthemimer ἐκ χορείων.

In passing we should notice the τ reading πνοαῖσιν for πνοαῖς l. 115; this is an interpolation made in order to effect a hemiolion, to match the next two cola, both of which are hemiolia.[52]

At l. 141 we find that the γὰρ of the Thoman MSS has been deleted by F^pc; [53] Triclinius did so in order to effect an antispastic acatalectic dimeter

ἄλευσον σέθεν ἐξ αἵμα-

The text with γὰρ would have yielded the undesirable hypercatalectic length.

The pre-Triclinian MSS have the interpolation l. 149 in this form:

ἄρτεμι φίλα

F^pc, however, has added a very tiny ς after ἄρτεμι and this text we also find in T. Obviously this emendation is made to restore a penthemimer instead of a monometer. It may perhaps be surmised that Triclinius wished to have trochaic metre here; but though the trochaic analysis is advertised in the T scholium we must remember that in τ he regarded these cola as choriambic or antispastic.

Although modern editors may disagree in their views of the structure of ll. 109-149, from l. 150 until l. 180 they are agreed that the lines make up two strophes and antistrophes. Triclinius was also of this opinion in his later edition. In τ he continued after l. 150 with the monostrophic analysis. There can be no doubt that it was the repetition of the line ἒ ἒ ἒ ἒ l. 150 and l. 158 that later made him realize the truth.

In the first six cola of strophe and antistrophe he took over the τ colometry directly. The τ arrangement was based to a very large extent upon the traditional colometry, but there are significant

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[51] As far as I can see, F^pc added a big τ; to me the word looks as if the F^ac reading was not πόλιν but something else. Especially the abbreviation of case-ending looks odd to me.

[52] This reading is only known from F^pc; in T he read πνοαῖς with the other MSS.

[53] The γὰρ is also in a few *veteres* QX^pc and C according to Dawe, *Collation* 253. In F, F^pc has deleted it with the usual dots and by a stroke of the pen.

redivisions. In MGLF[ac] the second colon of the antistrophe is written as one colon; in τ we find

ἀκροβόλων δ' ἐπάλ-
ξεων λιθὰς ἔρχεται

By so doing he secured two identical cola, both of which are choriambic hemiolia or antispastic penthemimers (we should remember that he might analyse –⏑⏑–⏑ | –), probably taking -ξεων with synizesis, as he does in T. This arrangement corresponds to a similar redivision in the strophe—also made already in τ—where he divided after ἁρμάτων.

In the seventh colon of the strophe l. 154 he had made in τ the same correction of ἄρτεμι into ἄρτεμις as he did at l. 149. In T he changed this latter colon in order to effect responsion with καὶ διόθεν πολε- which colon he had isolated already in τ. Now he interpolated ὦ

ἄρτεμις ὦ φίλα

The story is repeated. There is a clear-cut difference between the work in τ and T. None of the corrections made for the sake of strophic responsion can be found in τ; here we only have such as can be shown to derive from colometrical considerations, i.e. restoration of the correct metre. In the next colon of the strophe he had written in τ:

δορυτίνακτος δ' αἰθὴρ ἐπιμαίνεται
τί πόλις ἄμμι πάσχει

When the strophic structure was realised in T he had to make these cola agree with those of the antistrophe. There τ had

-μόκραντον ἁγνὸν τέλος
ἐν μάχαισί τε μάκαι-
ρ' ἄνασσ' . . .

The first of these cola, an ionic catalectic dimeter, he accepted in T, and proceeded to rewrite the cola in the strophe which then became

αἰθὴρ δ' ἐπιμαίνεται
δορυτίνακτος τί πόλις

By this transposition he overcame the difficulty in the first colon, but in the second he had to change the corresponding line in the antistrophe into

ἐν μάχαισιν σύ τε μά-

in order to obtain syllabic responsion. These interpolations and transpositions he based solely upon metrical considerations, and they do not appear in other sources. He was sufficiently satisfied with these manoeuvres to accompany the passage with a scholium on l. 154: οὕτω χρὴ γράφειν ταῦτα τὰ κῶλα ὡς διωρθώθη παρ' ἡμῶν· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κῶλα. οἱ δ' ἄλλως γράφοντες καὶ ταῦτ' ἐναλλάσσοντες οὐκ ἴσασι τὰ περὶ τῶν μέτρων.[54] The diction of this scholium unmistakably shows what was behind the interventions; wherefore they do not appear in τ.

In the final pair Triclinius used the τ colometry of the strophe to correct the antistrophe. The arrangement in τ of the cola in the strophe is identical with that in modern editions; Triclinius followed, as can be seen from M, the old colometry against that of the Thoman MSS.[55]

While the τ text of the strophe exhibits no corrections, there is an interesting textual point in the antistrophe at l. 175. Here F^{pc} deletes πόλιν; since T has the word, it is difficult to know for what reasons Triclinius cancelled it in his early work. Metrically there seems nothing to choose between a brachycatalectic trimeter and an acatalectic dimeter, two cola which are both explicitly recognised in the scholium on ll. 78 ff. On the balance of the evidence we may conclude that he must have had MS authority for the deletion. Otherwise it cannot be explained.

At the beginning of the next song in this play ll. 287-368 there is a scholium in F^{pc} (f. 33v) on the colometry: οὕτως εὑρέθη τὰ κῶλα τοῦ χοροῦ ἐν ἑτέροις παλαιοῖς. There can be no doubt that these other MSS had a colometry very similar to that of M, for in the whole song there are only a few cases of disagreement on this score between τ and M, while τ bears no special relation to the colometry found in LF^{ac}. In this song we shall make a special study of the

[54] This instance of the technical term ἐναλλάττειν has been overlooked by Turyn in his discussion *Euripides* 50 n. 86. For another example see Triclinius on *Aj.* 925 τὸ μέντοι δεύτερον κῶλον τὸ ποτὲ χρόνωι ἐνήλλακται παρ' ἡμῶν.

[55] The only difference between M and Triclinius is that l. 171 is written as two cola in τ and T.

colometry in τ, since we have documentary evidence of Triclinius' use of ancient sources here. The problems in this song are the same as those encountered in the preceding one; τ analyses the cola as choriambic, a term that has been seen to cover a multitude of metrical forms, and the precise significance of which is so doubtful that it is of no help.

In τ Triclinius began, as far as we can discern, his modification of the old colometry in the second colon of the first strophe. M, and later T, divided correctly after καρδίας. Since the first colon was analysed in τ as a brachycatalectic trimeter, Triclinius preferred to make the next colon follow suit and put colon-end after μέριμναι. When he later revised his text in T he could not fail to see that l. 289 made up a trochaic hephthemimer; in the antistrophe where previously he had written (l. 305 f.)

τᾶς δ' ἄρειον ἐχθροῖς ἀ-
φέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν

to avoid making the latter colon hypercatalectic by dividing after ἐχθροῖς, he now divided there and corrected into ἐχθροῖσιν, to effect a colon similar to that in the strophe (he was not aware of the possibility of scanning καρδίας as a spondee). The τ colometry at ll. 305-306 is an innovation against M which divides correctly after ἐχθροῖς.

A few lines later in the first strophe at ll. 293 f. τ has:

ὑπερδέδοικε λεχέ-
ων δυσευνήτειρα
πάντροφος πελειάς

probably analysed as three hemiolia. Thus we can understand why Triclinius, against M, prefers to divide in this way, instead of dividing πάν||τροφος. In T he seems to have been less happy about the first colon; there he places the colon-end after λεχέων, and δυσευνήτειρα is regarded as a hypercatalectic monometer. At the corresponding juncture in the antistrophe τ originally had (l. 310)

ὅσων ἵησι ποσει-
δᾶν ὁ γαιάοχος

Again he saw the possibility of having two hemiolia to match the cola before and after this passage (both of which are hemiolia) since he divided l. 308 εὐ||τραφέστατον. The T remodelling in the

strophe now required intervention in the τ text at l. 310 the result of which is

ὅσων ποσειδᾶν ἵη-
σ' ὁ γαιάοχος [56]

It remains to be observed that the τ colometry divides into two halves the traditional colon in M. Deviation from M to obtain hemiolia can also be seen in the preceding colon where M divides εὐτρεφέ||στατον.

In the remaining cola of the strophe τ follows M closely. In T Triclinius takes over the τ arrangement with a few textual adjustments to produce complete responsion. One of these is connected with the next case of deviation from the traditional colometry. At lines 318-320 M is at fault by dividing

καὶ πόλεως ρύτορες εὔεδροί
τε στάθητ' ὀξυγόοις λιταῖσιν

Striving for choriambic cola of a regular length, Triclinius at first divided these lines into three cola by placing colon-end after ρύτορες and στάθοιτε (this is the F text). Later in T he was bound to be displeased with the first of these cola, since it did not correspond with the colon in the antistrophe where he had taken over from τ (l. 301)

παντὶ τρόπωι διογενεῖς

He therefore joined εὐ- to this colon which thus became an acatalectic dimeter consisting of a choriamb and a fourth paeon.[57] The second colon was made into regular iambics by writing προστάθητε. This made revision of the τ text in the strophe l. 302 necessary. He deleted καὶ in that line, and added a τε at the end. Apart from the above cases the antistrophe was arranged in T as it had been in the first recension.

Finally I shall draw attention to a small textual correction in τ at l. 297. Apart from a few MSS (QKOP and possibly H) most witnesses have here the correct τί γένωμαι. This reading must also have

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[56] It is certainly puzzling that this transposition has been passed over in silence. There is not a word in T—could he have derived it from elsewhere ?

[57] The reader using Dindorf's publication of the T scholia should be warned that in the description of the 15th colon Triclinius wrote ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ παίωνος δ^ου (not δευτέρου).

been in the Thoman basis of the first recension and involved the undesirable ionic in the colon

στείχουσι τί γένωμαι

From the source we have seen him to have in common with Q and K, Triclinius imported the reading τίς, so as to have a regular catalectic dimeter.[58] For reasons of strophic responsion this correction was dispensed with later.

In the whole of the next pair there is only a single case of colometrical disagreement between M and τ. This single modification occurs at ll. 340 ff. where M writes

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἄγει φονεύει
τὰ δὲ πυρφορεῖ

As the second of these cola was most displeasing to him, he joined φονεύει to it and obtained a hemiolion + an acatalectic dimeter.

Between τ and T there is complete agreement on the colometry of the strophe though there are of course some textual differences. Also in the antistrophe the two recensions are agreed as to where to place colon-ends, apart from a single case, which is precisely where we have seen τ to innovate against M.

The reason for T is strophic responsion. The τ text in the strophe is (l. 328):

ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων περι-
ερρηγμένων φαρέων

In T Triclinius found the correct reading περιρ||ρηγνυμένων (thus divided between the cola as in M).[59] In this manner he was obliged to produce corresponding cola in the antistrophe, which is why he divided φονεύ||ει.

A characteristically peculiar τ emendation is met with at ll. 329-330. The MSS apart from T have

βοᾶι δ' ἐκκενουμένα πόλις [60]

a colon which in τ would have had to be a hypercatalectic dimeter. Eschewing this Triclinius at the time decided to write

βοᾶι δὲ κενουμένα πόλις [61]

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[58] Fpc added a very tiny ς above the γ in γένωμαι.

[59] It is certainly of some interest to observe that this text and colometry besides in M also is found in Q and I.

[60] The insignificant variants are recorded by Dawe, *Collation* 261.

[61] In Fpc δέ clearly has been written over an erasure.

which could be regarded as an acatalectic dimeter. One could have guessed that Triclinius would not tolerate that colon in T, and we find him later applying his standard remedy

βοᾶι δέ γ' ἐκκενουμένα πόλις,

a colon demanded by the antistrophe

καπνῶι δὲ χραίνεται πόλισμ' ἅπαν

which was taken over directly from τ. It is somewhat puzzling that the easier iambic interpolation made in T was not already hit upon in τ. Two lines later in τ another hypercatalectic dimeter vanishes through his emendatory activities. Line 332 in F and most of the *veteres* is

βαρείας τοι τύχας προταρβῶ

F^{pc}, acting on the authority of τ, deleted the particle; as far as we can see, Triclinius had MS authority for his intervention, since a number of respectable old MSS also carry a text without τοι.[62]

A remarkable situation is found at l. 338. Here F, of all MSS, has the correct text. The other witnesses have

πολλὰ γὰρ εὖτε πόλις δαμάσθη

The correct reading πτόλις in F is by F^{pc} and must therefore have been derived from τ.[63] How did it happen that Triclinius restored the correct text in τ but discarded it later? Undoubtedly πτόλις is a conjecture by Triclinius meant to effect a correct colon. The traditional text would have had to be taken as a hypercatalectic dimeter unless the equally displeasing possibility of admitting paeons was chosen, in which case the colon would be brachycatalectic. With πτόλις a ditrochee would be the second foot in a regular brachycatalectic trimeter. Later Triclinius quite inexplicably rejected πτόλις and preferred a new conjecture εὖτ' ἂν to make the colon agree with that in the strophe:

τὰς δὲ κεχειρωμένας ἄγεσθαι

[62] The facts are to be seen in Dawe, *Collation* 261. Page might reasonably have included a note on this in his apparatus.

[63] The apparatus of Page should deceive no one; the F^{1pc} to which πτόλις is attributed is of course the same F^{pc} who has imported into his newly written manuscript the other corrections from collation with τ.

For the moment I am disregarding the fact that there seems to be another manuscript with πτόλις for πόλις, this is the *Selden supra* 18, which should be investigated further since it seems to have been influenced by F (cf. above n. 18). I have not seen this MS myself, and have had to trust partial reports.

Most of the differences between M and τ in the arrangement of the cola are found in the third pair of strophe and antistrophe ll. 345-388.

The first two cola are written thus in M

κορκορυγαὶ δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ ποτὶ πόλιν
δ' ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις

whereas τ divides after ἄστυ; if we are to believe F^pc^ Triclinius let the *scriptio plena* ἀνὰ ἄστυ remain unaltered in τ, while in T he of course wrote ἀν' ἄστυ and even after F^pc^ had gone over the text F still had πόλιν, which yields an impossible colon on the analysis employed in τ. I am inclined to think that either Triclinius had not finished his treatment of this passage in τ, or F^pc^ overlooked the elimination of the *scriptio plena* and the reading πτόλιν, both of which are required in τ. When Triclinius came to revise this opening of the third strophe in T he changed the colometry once again. He made the three first cola of strophe and antistrophe into choriambic hemiolia dividing ἄ||στυ, πτόλιν|| and πυργῶτις|| in the strophe; correspondingly in the antistrophe he put colon-end after καρ(πός), πεσὼν and κυρήσας.

Here in the antistrophe he had earlier revised the old colometry by dividing into two cola—as M—but instead of making the first colon run until πεσὼν he put a division after χαμάδις. Evidently the reason was his aim to produce the prescribed cola: a brachycatalectic trimeter and an acatalectic dimeter. Otherwise the colometry in ll. 345-356 was left unchanged in τ (= M) and was later adopted in T. While M and T agree l. 363 in dividing the colon after νέαι, τ writes

δμωίδες δὲ καινοπή-
μονες νέαι τλήμονες

obviously motivated by the desire to have two similar cola (catalectic dimeters). In T he did not feel obliged to do so, for by following the old arrangement he could have a trochaic catalectic trimeter, matching the one in the strophe at l. 351.

Exactly the same happened a few lines later. Lines 367-368 stand in M and T thus:

ἐλπὶς ἔστι νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν
παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον

It can hardly be accidental that τ revises this colometry so that the result is three catalectic dimeters. Our suspicion as to the motive for the revision amounts to certainty when we look at the preceding cola in τ (= M) for they are identical catalectic dimeters (ll. 365-366). Such an observation, I think, will permit the conclusion of this somewhat lengthy discussion of the colometrical manoeuvres in the earlier recension: Triclinius was ready to change the transmitted colometry if he could thereby restore blocks of identical cola. But although these cola were of very definite types, penthemimers, hemiolia, catalectic, acatalectic and brachycatalectic dimeters and trimeters, they were most emphatically not hypercatalectic cola of any length. Thus we cannot be certain when he tells us as he does here that he follows old colometry; for there cannot be any doubt as to his authorship of the peculiar τ colometry.

Of textual matters here one of Triclinius' readings deserves mention, if only to emphasize once again the fundamental difference between our two recensions. In T he wrote τλῆμον' εὐνάν (l. 364) instead of the traditional τλήμονες εὐνάν which he had quite happily accepted in his earlier work. As we saw, he revised the colometry here in the later recension for the sake of strophic responsion, and this is also the motive for his conjecture, which, incidentally, found favour with e.g. Groeneboom.[64]

A few differences apart, τ follows old colometry also in the last ode in the play ll. 720-791. The metrical analysis in τ of this song is very interesting: Triclinius begins by taking the cola down to l. 753

[64] As Dawe, *Collation* 63 points out we cannot be absolutely certain that τλῆμον' εὐνάν in fact was Triclinius' own invention. The MS I for instance seems to have had a source that read τλῆμον' (but I's own text is τλῆμον' ἐς). The wording of the T scholium is not decisive either way: οὕτω γράφε τλήμονα εὐνὴν αἰχμάλωτον ἵν' οἰκείως ἔχηι [τὸ κῶλον] πρὸς τὸ [τῆς στροφῆς] καὶ [οὕτω] σύντασσε ὡς παρ' ἡμῶν διωρθώθη τόδε τὸ σχόλιον. οἱ γὰρ τλήμονες γράφοντες ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ μέτρα. (The supplements are partly mine, partly Dindorf's; the latter's text is faulty). We can never be sure when he only says γράφε; on the balance of the evidence I prefer to believe the emendation to be his own, for it is very likely that I had its text from Triclinius, cf. above n. 42. One or two points in this scholium seem worth a few comments. First we may notice the curious slip of the pen—for this is what I take it to be—τλήμονα εὐνὴν against τλῆμον' εὐνάν in the poetic text. Secondly Triclinius refers to his own revision of the Thoman scholium on the passage (Dindorf, *Scholia* 341, 18-31); this scholium (T f. 56r) Triclinius writes as a usual Thoman scholium with an initial capital letter, though it bears only a vague resemblance to the original Thoman note.

as anapaestic dimeters, and the remaining cola are simply called 'choriambic and antispastic acatalectic and catalectic dimeters, hemiolia and brachycatalectic trimeters'. A stray remnant of Triclinius' work on this song can be seen at l. 733, the last colon in the anapaestic series. For some reason F^{pc} copied the number ιδ' written above this line in τ. Obviously this note in τ was written when Triclinius did his counting of the initial anapaestic cola; it is also an indication of the fact that he seems to have been able to work out the structure of this song into more detail than had been the case with the two preceding songs, which must have been very difficult for him to handle—as they still are for us—because of the deep-seated corruptions in both of them. Though his analysis is ludicrous, the section was correctly isolated, but he was not aware of the true nature of ll. 720-733 until his later work. How near he came in τ may be seen from the fact that T follows the colometry of τ both in strophe and antistrophe (the arrangement is identical with that in the editions of Mazon and Page, but differs from that adopted by Wilamowitz). There are of course, as there must be, some textual divergences.

In the very first colon of the strophe he corrected the transmitted ὀλεσίοικον into ὀλεσίδομον.[65] This was not repeated in T. I am at a loss to explain why it was introduced in τ; the colon is no more anapaestic with this interpolation than it was with the traditional text. There must have been some metrical reason, for it seems hard to believe that Triclinius found it in an authoritative source. On the remarkable anapaestic analysis let me state that in T none of these cola are called anapaestic; those cola which by a small stretch of the imagination, could be thought anapaestic in τ are ionic in T. We may, I think, dispense with the possibility that ἀναπαιστικά is a mistake by F^{pc} for ἀντισπαστικά.

After the second colon of the strophe a scholium has crept into the poetic text: ἃ γὰρ νύκτωρ παρεκελεύσατο καὶ γέγονε. All our MSS except MKF^{pc} and T carry it.[66] A precious note in F by F^{pc} (f. 42v)

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[65] Wilamowitz who was the only editor to pronounce an opinion on the subject says that ὀλεσίδομον is by F; an inspection of the MS reveals that the word has been introduced over an erasure. For the sake of history we may note that the reading was first recorded by Stephanus in his *Observationes* appended to Victorius' 1557 edition (p. 370), though he gave ὠλεσίδομον. Stephanus had seen F at Florence and noted this reading.

[66] K[1] has added it in the margin according to Dawe, *Collation* 280 and a much later hand added it in M in the margin. The consensus at this juncture

tells us: οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα ἐν ἑτέροις. Accordingly a row of dots has been put above the words. When we turn to T we see that the words are now out of the text, and a scholium has been written to explain why (f. 68r): οἱ προστιθέντες ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἃ γὰρ νύκτωρ παρεκελεύσατο καὶ γέγονεν ἀμαθεῖς εἰσι τῶν μέτρων. διὸ περιττὸν ὂν ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. Had we not known the τ note in F we should have been ignorant of the true motive for the deletion. In T Triclinius only offers metrical reasons, with a rather impolite aside to his colleagues, but from τ we know the truth: he had better MSS than his predecessors, or at least he knew how to use better MSS. Now after the textual note on l. 721 he proceeds in the scholium quoted to argue for his further intervention l. 725. This intervention was not made in the earlier recension, for it is based on considerations of strophic responsion. The earlier recension, with our other MSS (except T) had:

κατάρας βλαψίφρονος οἰδιπόδα

probably regarded as an 'anapaestic' dimeter. In the antistrophe, however, in T Triclinius took over

ὁπόσαν καὶ φθιμένοις κατέχειν,

another dimeter in the earlier recension. To make these cola match each other he added -ιν in φθιμένοις and made a *palmary emendation* in the strophe by a simple transposition:

κατάρας οἰδίποδα βλαψίφρονος [67]

commenting: τὸ ϛ' κῶλον· οὕτω χρὴ γράφειν ὡς διωρθώθη παρ' ἡμῶν. . .ἵν' οἰκείως ἔχηι πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κῶλον. The wording reveals why we look in vain for it in τ. Before leaving the anapaestic section in τ, I should like to add that the anapaestic analysis here made him produce an ἀποθετικόν in the last colon. There is a scholium on this line (733) κοινὴ συλλαβὴ τὸ μοι διὰ τὸ ρ (I have not

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between K and the Triclinian MSS is very strong evidence for Triclinius' use of one of K's sources, the one K had in common with Q. I do not understand Page's apparatus here; he says *scr. et del.* FTr. There is no reason to separate T from M and K; the situation in these three MSS is identical. F^{pc}, however, deletes the scholium he had himself written previously as part of the poetic text. The note as it stands in Page leads the reader without access to the MSS to the false belief that here we have a conspicuous FT agreement which we have *not*. It is a now familiar F^{pc}T agreement, shared with M and K. T does not write the scholium in the text; he mentions it (see below) in his scholium because he deletes it.

[67] Blomfield had the same good idea.

been able to find the source of this remarkable doctrine) which means that he scanned ἀμοίρους ⏑⏑– and obtained the clausula –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–. This remark is not in T, for there he wants to have responsion with ὀτρύνει scanning ⏑––.

In the following pair we encounter the first disagreement between τ and the old colometry. Lines 739-740 M gives τίς ἄν. . .δόμων as one colon; τ divides after λούσειεν, possibly not *suo Marte* since this arrangement is shared by G (F^{ac} is doubtful), but the addition of νέοι to the second of these cola must be Triclinius' own idea. Even so the reason is obscure to me. In T he made a new arrangement; the first four cola in the strophe and antistrophe are arranged as in τ, then for the fifth colon in the strophe he divides, with τ, after λούσειεν, and has to change the τ colometry in the antistrophe (which is correct) dividing πυθι||κοῖς; this new division required adjustment of the strophe where he put colon-end at πα||λαιοῖσι (this instead of ||παλαιοῖς in τ).[68]

Apart from a blunder of F^{pc}'s at l. 759, where the colon is divided into two monometers, a length not mentioned in the scholium, there is complete agreement between τ and T on the subject of colometry.[69]

There are a few textual points here upon which we ought to comment. First, in l. 765 F^{pc} has added a καὶ after μή. Turyn regarded this interpolation as a solitary instance of Thomas' interpolating for metrical reasons,[70] and so it was also regarded, albeit with some misgivings, by Zuntz, *Inquiry* 209 n. †. Now the reading is in Q^{pc} and K (Turyn, *Aeschylus* 90), we should therefore rather deduce that Triclinius had it from the QK source which is *not* Thoman. Nor is the interpolation metrical—pre-Triclinian metrical interpolations in lyrics are on the whole exceedingly rare, perhaps non-existent—though Triclinius may have preferred it on metrical grounds (it yields a catalectic dimeter instead of a hemiolion); but

[68] Even this detail is interesting: παλαιοῖσι is in Q and Δ (on Δ cf. n. 42)

[69] Similarly I cannot believe that κακῶν at l. 758 in τ was joined to the preceding colon, thus blurring the border between strophe and antistrophe. Though the strophic structure was unrecognised in τ, this must be a blunder.

[70] The Thoman interpolations made for metrical reasons, listed by Turyn, *Aeschylus* 92, are, apart from our case *Sept.* 765, and *Sept.* 754, 481 and 483, not in the lyric parts of the plays. I suspect that most, perhaps all of these emendations are neither Thoman nor metrical. *Sept.* 481: the reading τῶιδε appears in Q^{c}KΔ and is hardly metrical; *Sept.* 483 βάζουσιν again is in ΔC and Q^{c} besides LLhFT; finally *Sept.* 734 αὐτοκτόνως is offered by ΔQK and some Thoman MSS.

it owes its existence to the interpretation we find in the scholia A on the passage, Dindorf, *Scholia* 385, 24 f. φοβοῦμαι μὴ σὺν τῶι Πολυνείκει καὶ Ἐτεοκλεῖ ἀφανίσθηι καὶ ἡ πόλις. The interpolation was discarded, of course, in T because it is against the responsion.

At line 756 both τ and T have σύναγε instead of the συνάγαγε or συνήγαγε of some *veteres* (among these M and I). In F, the old reading has been introduced by F^pc. This is a very problematic case, for in T the colon is described as a hypercatalectic dimeter consisting of an ionic *a maiore*, a choriamb and a syllable. Not only are hypercatalectic cola nowhere mentioned in the early recension, but we have seen a number of cases where such cola in the traditional text were emended in this recension for no better reason than their being hypercatalectic. Also the ionic metre was avoided in several instances. In the next play we are going to see the ionic metre recognised in a very remarkable way, and we already know that T did not feel any misgivings about hypercatalectic cola. Thus, on the balance of the evidence (we must either regard this colon as an indication of a stage of Triclinius' work not yet reflected in the long scholium, or we must allow the possibility that he regarded the colon ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ as catalectic), I should prefer to view this case as belonging to a stage of Triclinius' work that lies between the main bulk of work in the earlier recension and the final recension.

There is nothing in the fourth pair that needs comment, but in the last pair two cases of difference between T and τ emphasize the fundamental difference between the two recensions.

The τ colometry is identical with that in M, apart from ll. 783 ff.

πατροφόνωι χειρὶ τῶν
κρεισσωτέκνων δ' ἀ-
π' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη
τέκνοισίν τ' ἀραίας ἐ-

This is the τ text and colometry. It will be seen that the divisions have been altered to obtain a hephthemimer, two hemiolia and a hephthemimer. M, in fact, writes l. 784 as one colon, as does T. As far as can be gathered from reports of the MSS l. 785 F^pc is the only source to have

τέκνοισίν τ' ἀραίας [71]

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[71] F^ac had τέκνοις δ' ἀραίας; F^pc erased δ' and added -ιν *per compendium*.

against τέκνοις δ' ἀραίας, in the τ analysis a hypercatalectic monometer.

In T Triclinius until l. 783 followed the earlier recension, but in l. 784 he returned to the old tradition and made that line into one colon in order to restore strophic responsion. On the τ analysis the strophe had one colon too much (8 against 7 in the antistrophe). Further he deleted δ' ἀπ' l. 784 to obtain syllabic responsion. This deletion is not in τ for there it would have had no meaning; in T we do not find his interpolation in τ in l. 785, for he had no use for it later. The deletion l. 784 was in T (f. 70r) explained in a scholium: οἱ λέγοντες κρεισσοτέκνων δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ μέτρα· διὸ περισσὸν ὂν τὸ ἀπ' ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ ἵν' εἴη τὸ κῶλον ὅμοιον τῶι τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν σύνταξιν ἔχοι ὀρθῶς. The deletion of ἀπ' for which Triclinius here takes the credit is already in Q and is, probably after T, found in Ha.[72]

This would be another emendation taken from or suggested by the QK source known to him.

We shall now undertake a similar study of the odes and anapaestic sections of the *Persae*, beginning with the *parodos* ll. 1-137, and including the anapaests ll. 138-154.

Here we meet with the analysis into ὑποθέσεις in the τ scholium on ll. 1-154, the first of which covers the lines 1-64. The colometry in this anapaestic section is identical in τ and T and follows quite closely the old tradition.

We have at l. 6 the first textual point of interest. The two witnesses to τ, F and G, omit the words Δαρείου υἱὸς (cf. plate 5). There is no explanation in τ except the usual metrical note μονόμετρον (this is found only in F since G omits almost all scholia in this play); in the later recension where the words are also omitted

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[72] The MS Ha, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional *cod.* 4617 (on which see Turyn, *Aeschylus* 62) may be post-Triclinian seeing that the part preceding the Aeschylus portion ff. 100-170v was written by Georgius Cinnamus in the year 1333 (containing Sophocles, cf. Turyn, Traditio 2, 1944, 22): ἐτελειώθη ὁ παρὼν σοφοκλῆς διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ γεωργίου τοῦ κιννάμου ἐν ἔτει ,ςωμβ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) β' μηνὶ δεκεμβρίω κς' (f. 99r). It is not stated whether Cinnamus wrote the whole MS or other parts than the Sophocles, or the MS is composite and the date 1333 only pertains to the Sophocles part. According to Livadaras, 212 the Hesiodic part of *Matr.* 4617 (ff. 171r-195r) is a direct(?) copy of *Ven. Marc.* 464, the Triclinian Hesiod. At any rate Turyn regards the MS as interpolated; perhaps the problem of this MS will be settled in Page's paper on the MSS GLcLhXNc and Ha in the forthcoming *Studies in Honor of Professor Alexander Turyn* (cf. Page's OCT edition p. VIII with n. 2).

there is a scholium on δαρειογενής (T f. 82r): οὐ καλῶς τιθέασιν ἐνταῦθα τὸ δαρείου υἱός, ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἁρμόζει τῶι μέτρωι οὔτε τῆι φράσει τοῦ λόγου· ταυτολογία γάρ ἐστι. διὸ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐξεβλήθη ὡς περιττόν. μονόμετρον δέ ἐστι τὸ κῶλον ὡς καί τινα τῶν ἑξῆς ὡς εἴρηται.

It seldom happens that Triclinius reveals that an emendation has been made before him, or that there was MS authority for an emendation in non-dialogue sections. Even here he only says καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν [73] and does not admit directly that he knew MSS without these superfluous words. Here again we can tell the source of the idea, for the words are also omitted in Q and K; this is why the deletion was made already in τ: it was made on MS authority. Metrically there was no gain in τ, for not until T does the *paragraphus* written against l. 7 tell us that Triclinius took ll. 1-7 as one period. He did so because ll. 6-7 made up (after the deletion) his usual clausula monometer + paroemiac. This seems the only admissible explanation; τ says nothing about periods. Later Triclinius strengthened this analysis into periods by a rhetorical division. He noted opposite l. 8 (the beginning of a new period) βάσις.[74] Moreover, in T, but not in τ, the paroemiac at l. 7 would also have made him look for a monometer in the preceding line. While this revision of line 6 was based on MS authority, the preference for the reading l. 21 'Αρταφρένης instead of 'Αρταφέρνης would seem rather to have exclusively metrical reasons. T explicitly mentions that 'Αρταφέρνης is metrically unsound; and that 'Αρταφρένης should be read ἵν' ἔχηι πρὸς τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς. In τ we find the correct reading; it may have been known to Triclinius since a large group of *veteres* (though neither Q nor K) has it. But let us take a look at l. 44. For here we find a correction in T not yet

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[73] Cf. Dawe, *The MSS* 43 n. 1.

[74] For this kind of rhetorical analysis (σχήματα) cf. Aubreton 210 f. Of course such remarks on the rhetorical structure could have been made by any Byzantine philologist; it seems, however, to be something specifically Triclinian. His rhetorical interest is documented by his calligraphic MS of Aphthonius and Hermogenes Oxford, *New College* 258 subscribed in August 1308 (cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 103 n. 89). In this connection I may also point to his occasional remarks (apart from the strict σχήματα) on the rhetorical structure of passages in the dramatists, above all the famous case of τετράκωλος περίοδος (see Schartau, *Observations* II, 58 f.) written against *Hec.* 16-27 in *Angel. gr.* 14 (f. 7r) and Copenhagen *GKS* 3549 (f. 4v-5r). In *Angel. gr.* 14 the same note is also found at *Or.* 496-504 (ff. 63r-v), again with a parallel in Copenhagen *GKS* 3549 (f. 66r). In L, *Laur.* 32, 2 we have it on *Hel.* 60 (f. 106r). Cf. the very instructive plates in Schartau, *loc. cit.*

in τ. At first he followed without misgivings, it seems, the old tradition and wrote

ἀρκτεύς τ' ἀγαθός, βασιλῆς δίοπτοι (δίοποι MIQ[ac])

This colon in τ, it will be seen, is exactly identical to the one in l. 21 before correction. In T he wrote διέπει to avoid the metrical absurdity, but as far as we can see, in τ he still had not noticed the difficulty. We are therefore entitled to draw the conclusion that l. 21 was corrected on MS authority, and that Triclinius when working on τ did not know the reading δίοποι which was in the other branch of the old tradition. I do not wish to commit myself on the question of whether διέπει was provoked by δίοποι, but it does seem very likely. Triclinius did not succeed in solving this problem until T, and he did it by a reckless emendation of a type we usually associate with his later work.

Then from l. 65 onwards in T, the strophes and antistrophes are set out, while τ continues the analysis in ὑποθέσεις, the second one being comprised of ll. 65-114, described in the scholium as anapaestic cola of varying length. We have seen previously that in τ Triclinius spoke of anapaests where he later found ionic cola; so also here. This difference in the analysis should of course bring about some adjustments of the colometry in T. But it is characteristic that T basically follows τ, and where he rejects his earlier colometry, most often he will go back to the old tradition he modified in τ. The earlier recension was no doubt based on an M-like arrangement, in spite of the differences. Without going into too many details I may point out that T returns to the old colometry against τ at ll. 73 and 79 in the first antistrophe, and in ll. 109-111 in the third antistrophe. Further we can see that where τ diverges from M, Triclinius, apart from the cases just mentioned, proposes a new colometry (e.g. ll. 64, 75 and 112-113).

Thus we may note that in the only case in the first strophe where T goes against τ, it is because the cola in τ do not lend themselves to the ionic analysis; τ had divided ll. 68-69 thus

λινοδέσμωι σχεδίαι
πορθμὸν ἀμείψας

so as to produce anapaestic cola. T writes the cola together to get ionics. If we suppose that while he worked on τ something similar to the arrangement in M lay before Triclinius, we can see why he

changed it. M, in fact, divides into two cola with colon-end at πορθ||μόν in which case -θμὸν ἀμείψας would be a pure ionic. This instance strengthens our diagnosis that in τ Triclinius at least at one stage of his work avoided ionics.

The second pair shows no differences in colometry between τ and T. Probably one of the rare disagreements between G and F at l. 82 is indicative of the situation in τ, the common exemplar of these manuscripts. F has with T φονίου, while G exhibits the impossible φοινίου. I suspect that the FT reading must have been a variant jotted down in τ without replacing the original φοινίου.[75]

Lines 93-100 in T were taken as an epode of 9 cola. Like most modern editors Triclinius saw that these lines could not be divided into strophe and antistrophe.[76] Accordingly the colometry of the lines was taken over unchanged from τ, where we find close agreement with the old tradition.[77]

In the third pair (ll. 101-114) Triclinius in the final recension followed τ in the cola of the strophe ll. 101-105. Again he regarded the cola earlier called anapaestic as ionic, except the last one which he now called choriambic. In these cola τ took over what was presented by the old colometry. Clearly the ionic analysis was made on the basis of the strophe in τ, for in the cola of what he correctly found was the antistrophe, only the first two cola isolated in τ exhibited ionic rhythm (or what could be made into ionics):

ἔμαθον δ' εὐρυπόροιο θα-
λάσσας πολιαινομένας

In T he divided on the basis of the strophe—thereby returning to the M arrangement:

ἔμαθον δ' εὐρυπόροι-
ο θαλάσσας πολιαί-

[75] The correct φονίου is in ONQ[ac] according to Dawe, and has now been found by Page to be in Ha and W[ac] too.

[76] It is true that some editors, e.g. Mazon and Broadhead, do think it possible to rewrite the passage to make up strophe and antistrophe, but their attempts hardly inspire confidence.

[77] I ought to point out that I pass over the insignificant individual aberrations of G and F deliberately. The scribe of G is prone to run together the shorter cola, while the scribe of F sometimes commits gross blunders in his text. For instance F here has (l. 100) ὕπερθεν τὸν instead of ὑπὲρ θνατόν (GT). Similarly I refrain from attaching any importance to the fact that F l. 82 has τοξόδαμον instead of τοξόδαμνον. On the differences between G and F (and E in the *Eumenides*) cf. n. 97 below.

For the next two cola he also followed the old colometry, and made up dimeters of the same type as those in the strophe. In the last cola ll. 111-113 M had the arrangement:

πίσυνοι λεπτοδόμοις πεί-
σμασι λα-
οπόροις τε μηχαναῖς

If Triclinius found this while working on τ it is no wonder that he changed it and wrote:

πόντιον ἄλσος πίσυνοι
λεπτοδόμοις πείσμασιν
λαοπόροις τε μηχαναῖς

In T he moved πόντιον ἄλσος to the preceding colon as we have seen; then to make up a colon corresponding to l. 105-106

διέπειν ἱππιοχάρμας τε κλόνους

he interpolated ἐν before πείσμασιν. The last colon, which he had called trochaic in τ, was now regarded as a choriambic dimeter; the τ colon in the strophe

πόλεών τ' ἀναστάσεις

was deprived of its τ' and a καὶ was added at the beginning.[78]

The next ὑπόθεσις in τ is the section ll. 115-137, in other words the fourth and fifth pairs of strophe and antistrophe. Here we find considerable differences between τ and the M colometry; some of the cola are identical but most of them are completely different. To make matters worse G as usual is extremely negligent. Thus we only have F to rely upon in order to see what was the τ arrangement.

According to F, ll. 114-117 in τ are four regular hephthemimers; then follows a penthemimer l. 118 -ται κένανδρον μέγ'. After this colon F writes as one colon: ἄστυ σουσίδος καὶ τὸ κισσίων πόλισμ' (F^{ac}G; πτόλισμ' F^{pc}). This can hardly be correct since this length is not recognised by the scholium on 1 ff. I assume that τ in fact divided after σουσίδος; then we have a penthemimer to go with the preceding colon, and a hephthemimer to match the following three similar cola (ll. 120-123). Line 124 is divided in F (at πέ||πλοις)

[78] G omits the τ' but I think it must be a plain blunder. There can be no doubt about G here though Page says *non liquet*. I should also add that G has ruined the colometry here; to reconstruct τ I have followed F.

into two penthemimers and then there follows another row of hephthemimers ll. 125-130. The next two cola

ἐξαμείψας ἀμφοτέρας
ἅλιον πρῶνα κοινὸν αἴ-

would seem to be catalectic dimeters. Next ll. 132 (to which -ας in αἴας has been joined) and 133 make up two hephthemimers. On the subsequent ll. 134-139 there is a scholium ἰθυφαλλικὰ ς'; the seven cola at the end of this ὑπόθεσις are thus six ithyphallics and an anapaestic colon (ἀναπαιστικὸν διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς is the note in F on l. 138). Since the total of trochaic cola is given in the scholium as 26, and F in fact only divides into 25 cola, our division of ll. 118-119 into two cola must be correct.

From this survey it will appear that Triclinius' arrangement in τ was based on the conceptions he used elsewhere; he tried to produce rows of identical cola, and if necessary he did not refrain from changing the transmitted colometry in his old sources.

For the strophe ll. 114-118 in T he relied on τ for the first five cola;[79] in the sixth and last he made the two penthemimers isolated in τ into one colon: τὸ ς' ἀσυνάρτητον ἐκ δύο τροχαικῶν πενθημιμερῶν συγκείμενον.

Similarly the two penthemimers ll. 123-124 in τ are joined in T into one colon. In the earlier recension he did not know or at least did not employ the concept of asynartetic cola.[80]

The last pair presented some problems. In τ he had isolated 15 cola which he now in T had to divide into strophe and antistrophe. It is thus no wonder that we encounter great divergences between τ and T in these lines (126-139).

In order to explain how he succeeded in T it is permissible but not essential to surmise that he was helped by the original arrangement in his old source(s). For example, since τ had blurred the border between strophe and antistrophe by the colometry αἴ||ας λέκτρα δ'

[79] In τ he took the exclamation at l. 116 ὀᾶ *extra metrum*, in T it is numbered as a regular colon.

[80] There is a scholium on τοῦδε (l. 117) in T (f. 86r) that should be mentioned in connection with the colometry: ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὸ τοῦδε τῶι ἑξῆς κώλωι συνημμένον εὕρηται ὡς εἶναι οὕτω τοῦδε μὴ πόλις πύθηται κένανδρον. Now neither MLXRb nor the Triclinian GF have τοῦδε in the preceding colon, but Ya for example has. In this MS the division is after πόλις; I do not think, however, that Triclinius had this colometry in mind, but that he must have known MSS that divided after τοῦδε.

ἀνδρῶν πόθῳ he may have used the M colometry to correct this juncture, but it can by no means be excluded that he was able to work it out for himself since the last colon in the antistrophe was taken over from τ. Thus he had to find a similar colon at l. 132 and he cannot have looked for very long to find that

πρῶνα κοινὸν αἴας

was the very colon he wanted. The first colon in the antistrophe would then be

λέκτρα δ' ἀνδρῶν πόθῳ

Now in l. 126, the first colon of the strophe, he had at first (in τ) added a τε after ἱππηλάτας to make the colon a hephthemimer; [81] this he abandoned in T for reasons of strophic responsion. The second colon in strophe and antistrophe was accepted in T; the third colon of the strophe in τ

σμῆνος ὡς ἐκλέλοιπεν

was then used as a basis on which the corresponding colon was arranged. In τ he had divided ἀκροπεν |θεῖς but now -θεῖς was joined to the preceding colon to make up a hephthemimer. The fourth colon, in the strophe in τ

μελισσᾶν σὺν ὀρχάμῳ

was enlarged by the addition of στρατοῦ from the next colon to correspond with

ἑκάστα πόθῳ φιλάνορι

so established because the sixth colon in the antistrophe was taken over from τ. In the strophe the corresponding colon was found to be ἀμφοτέρας ἅλιον. So it will be seen that he might have arranged the lines *suo Marte*, since the remaining part was simply cut into two halves, forming two hypercatalectic dimeters.

This lengthy exposition has been necessary to give an example of the way in which Triclinius worked in τ and how on the τ basis he arrived at his final version in T.

[81] This τε has not been recorded from any other MS than F. It is in Turnebus' edition.

It seems rather curious that Page records in his apparatus the elementary blunder of F l. 100 ὕπερθεν τὸν while he passes over in silence the metrical interpolation here.

The anapaests ll. 140-154 do not require much detailed analysis. We may note that the paroemiac l. 143 did not bother Triclinius in τ, though it did so in T where he wrote θώμεσθα in order to avoid period-end. The monometers l. 145 γένος ἁμέτερον and l. 148 he found in his old source (they are in M); therefore we are under no obligation to assume that in τ he sought to effect period-end (monometer + paroemiac) ll. 148-149, as he did in T where l. 149 is marked with a *paragraphos*. At line 152 we find him in T destroying the paroemiac; there is no trace in the earlier recension of his interpolation of δή at the end of this line.

At the beginning of the next song ll. 532 ff. we find anapaests again. The scholium divides into the following ὑποθέσεις: 532-547, 548-583 and 584-597. Throughout the whole song there is almost complete agreement between the early recension and the old tradition in the colometry. The anapaestic ὑπόθεσις ll. 532-547 Triclinius later regarded as a σύστημα ἐπιφθεγματικόν [82] exactly like the anapaestic section at *Sept.* 822 ff. and the trochaic tetrameters at *Pers.* 155-158. The different treatment of anapaests in τ and T is evident; in order to avoid paroemiacs except at period-ends in T Triclinius interpolates the particle μέν at the end of the very first colon

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ νῦν περσῶν μέν

Further at l. 540 he writes τέγγουσιν instead of τέγγουσ' for the same reason, thereby accepting the iamb in the second foot.[83]

The second ὑπόθεσις he regards as choriambic, both in the long scholium and in the short scholia, analysing in the margins opposite the text the blocks of cola throughout the ode. These short scholia are a welcome help in our study of his work, since we can reach a much higher degree of certainty as to his precise analysis

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[82] I do not know from where he got the term; in the scholia he says σύστημα ἐπιφθεγματικὸν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀνομοιομερές (*Sept.* 822, *Pers.* 155 and 532), but there is nothing in Hephaestion on συστήματα ἐπιφθεγματικά. Cf. also sch. *Or.* 348 τοῦτο (348-355) οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπωδός, ὡς ἄν τις ἴσως οἰηθείη διὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι μετὰ τὴν στροφὴν καὶ ἀντιστροφήν, ἀλλὰ καλεῖται σύστημα ἐπιφθεγματικόν, ὡς προσφθεγγόμενον τὸν Μενέλαον προσιόντα. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπῳδοὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ μονοειδοῦς μέτρου, ἀλλὰ διαφόρων, τοῦτο δὲ μονοειδοῦς. . . The reference contained in ὀνομαζόμενον as well as in καλεῖται usually is to Hephaestion or the scholia on that authority.

[83] On iambs in anapaestic cola in Triclinius cf. above n. 3.

See also the typical note here: μὴ ξενίζου τοίνυν εἴπερ εὑρήσεις ἐν τούτοις κείμενον ἴαμβον.

through these detailed remarks than we were able to do in the previous songs in the *Septem*, and in the *parodos* of the present play. These notes also reveal the tendency we met with in the preceding analysis namely that of isolating blocks of similar cola.

T takes over the colometry of τ in the first strophe and antistrophe ll. 548-567, but there are considerable differences in the text. In the very first colon, the first of four acatalectic dimeters, τ omits the δὴ which is in all MSS including T.[84] The object of this omission can only have been the restitution of an acatalectic dimeter instead of a hypercatalectic one. In the next colon τ writes

γαῖ' ἀσίας κενουμένη

against what the rest of the MSS offer:

γαῖ' ἀσίας ἐκκενουμένη

Again a hypercatalectic dimeter has been transformed into an acatalectic one. And finally the third colon in τ

ξέρξης γὰρ ἤγαγεν ποποῖ

must be due to deliberate emendation, though the omission of μὲν can be found elsewhere.[85] Thus it appears that in three out of four cases Triclinius in τ corrects a transmitted hypercatalectic colon into an acatalectic one. I feel confident that it will be agreed that this is satisfactory proof of his reluctance to admit such lengths.

In T the first two cola are described as hypercatalectic, so that at that stage he had given up his resistance. These four cola prove again his clear tendency to correct the cola if necessary in order to produce rows of identical lengths. Then follows in τ l. 552 described according to the marginal scholia as a brachycatalectic trimeter followed by five hephthemimers (553-557). Now both G and F offer l. 553 in this form: βαρίδες τε πόντιαι, which colon if scanned correctly ⏑⏑–⏑–⏑– does not make up a hephthemimer in the τ analysis where paeons are not recognised; on the contrary it makes a hemiolion. If Triclinius had in fact thought l. 553 to be a hemiolion

[84] C also omits the δὴ according to Dawe, *Collation* 321.

[85] Nd (*Laur.* 31, 38) is the only MS besides GF and T to omit the particle. The possibility cannot be excluded that Nd or an ancestor of Nd had been interpolated from Triclinius, in view of the fact that Nd is the only MS to share T's reading at *Pers.* 61 of οὔσπερ for οὓς πέρι. Nd, on which see Turyn, *Aeschylus* 41 and Dawe, *Collation* 78 f., is of the 15th century and is subscribed, according to Bandini, *Catalogus* II 120 by 'Αχίνδυνος ὁ Περδίκης.

there are two errors in the F scholia: the number of hephthemimers should be δ′ not ε′, and F must have omitted a note on the hemiolion. This is, I think, fairly implausible. The explanation must be found elsewhere. It is a possibility that τ scanned βαρ- as a long element, though it is not very satisfactory. I can only think of one evident solution: G and F must have overlooked a marginal correction in τ: βαρίδεσίν γε ποντίαις which was the text adopted in T. I should think that this is an obvious case of a scholium presupposing a correction not in our extant witnesses to τ, but only found later in T.[86]

If this is true l. 556 contains another correction to effect hephthemimers. Presumably Triclinius was confronted with

τόξαρχος πολίταις

as to obtain the desired type of colon he wrote πολιήταις, an emendation rightly accepted by modern editors.[87]

Then comes an acatalectic dimeter l. 558, the beginning of the antistrophe, followed by a brachycatalectic trimeter and two acatalectic dimeters (ll. 559 and 560-561). In line 558 Triclinius in τ read

πεζούς γὰρ καὶ θαλασσίους,

again to avoid a hypercatalectic colon; no MSS apart from G and F omit the τε. After l. 562 (a brachycatalectic trimeter) in τ we have a block of eight hephthemimers. How did he manage in T to reduce these cola to strophe and antistrophe?

In l. 548 the first colon of the strophe, he reinstated the δή cancelled in τ since he no longer avoided hypercatalectic cola; then l. 558 needs to be augmented by one syllable and τε was restored after the γάρ, a transposition accepted by Page. In τ Triclinius followed the cola of the antistrophe, correcting those of the strophe; l. 559, in τ hitherto regarded as a brachycatalectic trimeter, was now a hypercatalectic dimeter (this feat implied reading κυαν- ἀντὶ μιᾶς as the supralinear scholium in T says) and in l. 549 ἐκκενουμένα was restored. The next two cola in strophe and antistrophe were in τ acatalectic dimeters, so they were taken over in T

[86] Βαρίδες τε ποντίαις is the MQ reading. It is interesting that I has βαρίδεσί τε ποντίαις, approximately the very reading presupposed by the τ scholium.

[87] M has πολήταις but Triclinius need not have known this reading, cf. *Eum.* 980, *Sept.* 299.

without change. The same goes for ll. 552 and 562 both of which were regular brachycatalectic trimeters in τ, though in T Triclinius called them iambic. Line 553 was, as we have seen, probably written in τ as it now stands in T, though the correction in τ was made only in order to effect hephthemimers, not to effect responsion with

διὰ δ' ἰαόνων χέρας

Another significant disagreement between τ and T pertains to the analysis of l. 554 where, avoiding paeons, in τ

τί ποτε δαρεῖος μὲν οὔ-

is regarded as a hephthemimer. In T such a colon could not be accepted to correspond with

τυτθὰ δ' ἐκφυγεῖν ἄνα-

so that Triclinius writes in l. 554 τίπτε instead of τί ποτε [88] in order to achieve exact responsion.

The next two cola in strophe and antistrophe are identical in τ and T, and finally we reach the last colon, which already in τ was emended to match the surrounding hephthemimers. Triclinius simply deleted the τε in the colon l. 567

δυσχειμέρους τε κελεύθους

He accepted this in T because of σουσίδος φίλος ἄκτωρ in the strophe. Thus these few lines 548-567 offer ample evidence for the main features of Triclinius' early work: isolation of rows of similar cola in the choral odes, if necessary with the help of more or less violent emendation of his own, or on the basis of MS evidence. Do we have any criterion for distinguishing between his own corrections and those imported from other MSS? I think not—at least not a really satisfactory one; as a rule however, we may say that he seems to have relied on MS authority in the cases of more extensive emendation, i.e. deletions or additions of more significant words than particles, conjunctions and the like. Where he cancels whole phrases he is likely to have had MS authority, as far as our evidence goes. In one way he is more prudent and hesitating in τ; we do not

[88] Besides T also P, *Par. gr.* 2787 has this reading. It is small wonder that this storehouse of variant readings and interpolations was also influenced by Triclinius. The MS is definitely post-Triclinian, cf. Dietz 195 with n. 205.

seem to find in τ in the choral odes really reckless emendations without MS authority. But where he thinks that he has MS authority he can be just as reckless in his interventions in τ as he is in T. This may seem a comforting conclusion; indeed many critics have held the opinion that the τ interpolations were not as extensive and violent as those in T.[89] The reverse of the medal is of course that outside of the choral odes, in the passages where he found strophes and antistrophes, his critical practice in τ does not differ very much from that in T, and he is less likely to produce wholesale rewriting in the choral odes without the MSS to back him up. Had we not the means to control his dealings, such interpolations and deletions as those mentioned from this short passage of the *Persae* would be very insidious indeed. How much he did in the *Agamemnon* will probably never be known, in the absence of new independent evidence. I think we may from the material already studied, formulate the working hypothesis that apart from smaller adjustments of text, including deletions and additions of relatively insignificant elements, the textual work in τ is based on MS sources, but we must bear in mind that this is no safe criterion.

Surprisingly enough at l. 571 the scholia in the margin speak of ionic cola. In the long scholium on the whole ode only choriambic cola are mentioned. The ionic cola in question are the lines

στένε καὶ δακνάζου
βαρὺ δ' ἀμβόασον
οὐράνι' ἄχη ὀά

described as ἰωνικὰ ἡμιόλια β', τὸ δὲ γ' χοριαμβικόν. Not only do we hear of ionic cola which have not been mentioned before, but here

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[89] See e.g. the far too optimistic view of Zuntz, *Inquiry* 186. Speaking of the possible amount of Triclinian influence in the exemplar of L of Euripides, he asserts that 'the effect can be expected to have been of a very moderate kind, as in the Aeschylus MSS FG rather than as in the final edition Tr'. I consider this optimism wholly unwarranted, for after all the only hard and fast evidence we have comes from the analysis of what happened in Aeschylus. Moreover, scholars have until now only paid attention to a very small part of the evidence here, namely that contained in the few hundred lines where we have both M(V) and the Triclinian MSS. What guarantee do we have that it is precisely this part that represents Triclinius at his best ? The parallel with L is at most only partial since we have no knowledge at all of the extent of Triclinius' work on its exemplar. There the 'restrained and competent' work by T^1 may be so because the hard work had been done already. The analysis of the *Septem* and the *Persae* in GF should teach us a lesson, though a very disquieting one.

also the Hephaestionean sense of χοριαμβικόν makes a sudden appearance. The obvious conclusion must be that the marginal short scholium is later than the long scholium. Moreover, if the second of these cola is to be a hemiolion, Triclinius must now have been prepared to admit the paeons eschewed elsewhere. Perhaps we may see the motive in the fact that had the ionics not been accepted he would have had hypercatalectic cola instead. This, however, may not have been compelling; we should perhaps rather ascribe the appearance of ionics here to a growing sophistication. Later he did after all change this text. In T we find

πένθει καὶ δακνάζου

for reasons of strophic responsion. Even so we can see why πένθει does not appear in τ, for he says in the scholium on l. 568 πένθει γράφε μὴ στένε ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις εὕρηται. He relied exclusively upon his metrical knowledge and not on the MSS.

At l. 576 another new term is introduced, namely the prosodiac. This metre was not mentioned here in the long scholium, though the prosodiacs ll. 584 ff. are.

Then at ll. 579 f. τ gives the text

πενθεῖ δ' ἄνδρα στερηθείς
τοκῆες δ' ἄπαιδες
δαιμόνι' ἄχη ὀά

analysed as a hephthemimer and two hemiolia. We note that the word ἔρρανται which all other MSS (except T) exhibit after ἄπαιδες, is conspicuously absent. In T (f. 100r) the word is deleted together with στερηθείς l. 579 for reasons of strophic responsion: οἱ προστιθέντες ἐνταῦθα ἐν μὲν τῶι πενθεῖ δ' ἄνδρα δόμος στερηθείς, ἐν δὲ τῶι τοκέες δ' ἄπαιδες ἔρραντα: ἀμαθεῖς τῶν μέτρων. διὸ περισσὰ ὄντα ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. . . There is not a word about MS authority. But I doubt whether the deletion of ἔρρανται could have been made in τ without such support. We know of no other MSS than τ and T which lack the word and τ says nothing on the subject. In fact there is one MS that shows how the working hypothesis outlined above may still hold good. To explain the early deletion of the word it is imperative to posit a MS source without the word. And it is possible that the M tradition may have occasioned the complete disappearance of the word in some MS(S), for all that is left in M is the meaningless ἐρα. The exemplar of M must have been corrupt

here, and another copy from this or a similar exemplar may simply have dropped these incomprehensible syllables.[90]

Later Triclinius read, again for the sake of responsion, πένθει καὶ δακνάζου in the strophe and πενθεῖ δ' ἄνδρα δῶμα in the antistrophe. He may have himself deleted στερηθείς and corrected δῶμα for δόμος in T. Likewise he corrected τοκῆες into τοκέες forestalling Porson; this was unnecessary in τ.

If anyone wishes to argue that G and F were separate copies of different stages of the work in τ, arguments are available from ll. 582-583. For here we encounter signal disagreement between our two witnesses.

F writes the lines as two cola:

δυρόμενοι γέροντες
τὸ πᾶν δὴ κλύουσ' ἄλγος

describing them as two hephthemimers. G has the same colometry but writes ὀδυρόμενοι and κλύουσιν. If the cola are to be choriambic hephthemimers there can be no doubt that the F version is correct. T has with F δυρόμενοι but κλύουσιν with G. I do not for a moment believe that this case can be used to argue that G and F are, after all, not copies of the same exemplar; the interesting thing is that it was possible for G to make the blunder. Triclinius in τ must have added δυρόμενοι in the margin, and dropped the ιν in κλύουσιν in such a manner that a mistake as to his proposal was possible. The reading κλύουσ' is peculiar to τ, owing its existence to Triclinius' desire to have cola κατ' ἄλληλα. In T κλύουσιν is necessary in the strophic analysis.[91]

Apart from a single case, τ and T agree in the final pair of strophe

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[90] The MS Ha reacted to the corrupt ἐρα by writing ἄρα (Page, apparatus *ad loc.*). The fact that Triclinius was the first editor to see that here ἔρραντι should be deleted is obscured in most editions, Wilamowitz and Mazon being notable exceptions.

When Stephanus on p. 375 in Victorius' edition asserted that 'in quibusdam exemplaribus legitur τοκῆες δ' ἄπαιδες ἐν δάκρυσι sine verbo ἔρρανται' he may have been referring to F since he had seen this MS, but ἐν δάκρυσι is not in F and seems not recorded from any other MS than N (without ἐν), though it is in Turnebus and is presupposed in the A scholia as they have been printed by Dindorf, *Scholia* 471, 21. This is puzzling but hardly important for our purpose.

[91] As far as can be seen from F κλύουσ' ἄλγος is the reading *p.c.*; the *a.c.* reading, though it is impossible to be certain of it now, must have been κλύουσιν ἄλγος (= G). The scribe of F would seem to have been more alert than his colleague who wrote G. The reading δυρόμενοι is also in MQHa.

and antistrophe, both following the old tradition. The only case of textual disagreement is at l. 588 where G has προσπίτνοντες against FT προπίτνοντες. The latter is undoubtedly the τ reading [92] since these last fourteen cola are regarded as χοριαμβικὰ προσοδιακὰ καλούμενα.[93]

The next song *Pers.* 632-680 is as usual analysed in the long scholium in τ without the helpful and sometimes very important short marginal notes. The song consists of two ὑποθέσεις, the anapaests ll. 623-632 and 48 anapaestic cola ll. 633-680.

In T unfortunately f. 101r-v is a later replacement containing the lines 598-628 copied from the Aldine edition.[94] Thus we cannot know whether there were any changes in T in the first five cola. But we can be certain that the T arrangement was identical with that in τ. Honorius follows T in writing 15 lines to a page, and because his exemplar (the Aldine edition) disregarded the monometer l. 626, he wrote l. 628 to make up the 15 lines on f. 101v though this line was already on the original f. 102r. Thus we can be certain that τ also had the monometer, and that the arrangement in T was copied from τ.

The only interesting point in these anapaests is the text at l. 632. F and G both write

μόνος ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἴποι

with the scholium (only in F): <οἱ> γρ<άφοντες> πέρσαις εἴποι ἀγνοοῦσιν (ἀγνοεῖ F) τὸ μέτρον.[95] This restitution of the scholium may be confirmed from the similar wording in T οἱ δὲ πέρσαις γράφοντες ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ μέτρα. Triclinius there tells us that the colon was written thus in one of the old MSS; this is a welcome confirmation, but we know already that the reading is in M and several of the *veteres*. That he should have preferred it already in τ is no wonder, since we have seen from the scholium on *Sept.* 822 ff. that he was aware of the rule of the paroemiac at the end of anapaestic periods.

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92 Lh also has this reading, perhaps accidentally.

93 It is interesting to realize how far Triclinius goes in following his earlier recension. In the long scholium on *Pers.* 532 in τ he duly explains the prosodiac metre because this is the first time we meet it in τ. But also in T we find the metre explained at this point though he has used it already without explanation in the *Prometheus* commentary (e.g. on 128, 425 and 526).

94 See above p. 34.

95 Massa Positano 158 prints γράφε πέρσαις εἴποι ἀγνοεῖ τὸ μέτρον but she does not tell us the presumed sense of this.

In this song we shall only deal with the really significant cases of textual and colometrical innovation. The first occurs at l. 635 where τ and T share the interpolation of

βάρβαρα τε σαφηνῆ

The reason is not far to seek; Triclinius interpolated τε in order to make up a regular colon or one he thought to be regular, namely – ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ – | – instead of – ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ – | –. The inserted τε is not found in other MSS, and should be counted among Triclinius' own interpolations. Though the analysis in T is different—he rejected of course the anapaestic analysis—he still kept the τε because he could use it in his ionic analysis.

At l. 637 G has

παντάλαινά τ' ἄχη

while F shows

παντάλανά τ' ἄχη

Both MSS omit διαβοάσω. This is really puzzling, since the other MSS have πανταλαιν' or πανταλαν' without the τε.[96] We must suppose, on this evidence, that Triclinius in τ first revised πανταλαιν' ἄχη and wrote πανταλαινά τ' ἄχη instead, and then afterwards added πανταλανα as a variant to be preferred, copied by F but overlooked by G.

This seems, however, somewhat complicated, most of all because there appears to be no gain in correcting into πανταλαινά τ' ἄχη.[97] I am more inclined to think that G simply wrote the usual spelling and that τ had πανταλανά τ' ἄχη as the primary correction of πανταλαν' (or πανταλαιν') ἄχη. This reading is the only one possible in the τ analysis: – ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ –, an anapaestic monometer. We have not yet finished with this colon. For why does τ omit διαβοάσω? Ac-

[96] The details can be seen in Dawe, *Collation* 325. Page has no entry on this line in his apparatus

[97] Dawe mentioned this case (*The MSS* 44) but did not perceive the real point, I think; instead he advanced the theory, later elaborated in *Collation* 189-194 that G, F and E represent different stages of Triclinius' work in τ. I do not find his arguments cogent, most of all because, being somewhat trivial the differences between the three MSS are quite haphazard in relation to the outline of Triclinius' work established in the present study. It is certainly true that in some cases each of the three MSS preserves the truth against the rest, but this fact would be better explained on the theory that each scribe made a different selection from the common exemplar.

cording to our hypothesis, this is a type of deletion τ does not make without MS support. As far as I have been able to find out from existing collations, no MSS, except G and F, are known to omit the word.[98] And yet there are in our manuscripts valuable traces of some corruption here that may have made the word drop out eventually. Dawe, *Collation* 325 gives the reading διαβ from H and διαβὰς from Δ; this latter reading looks much like an attempt to make sense of the corruption as it is in H. Triclinius may have known a manuscript that omitted the word, and have accepted the text because it suited his metrical analysis. This case would then be a precise analogy to the one discussed above on *Pers.* 579 f.

At line 644 we have a metrical emendation of the far more usual type, a small adjustment which Triclinius made already in τ without MS authority:

πέμπετ' ἄνω οἷον οὔπω

This he writes against πέμπετε δ' ἄνω οἷον οὔπω of the MSS in order to achieve anapaestic metre. In T he returns to the old tradition both here and in l. 637 for the usual reasons.

The more examples we find of peculiar τ readings where T has the traditional text, the more difficult it is to uphold the comforting position that G and F simply represent the pre-Triclinian text on which Triclinius in T built his final edition. I say 'comforting' since, if we gave up the idea that G and F are more or less free of Triclinian interpolation our position in the *Agamemnon* would be desperate, as Fraenkel warned us. But it seems to me that we cannot be certain in the case of disagreements between τ and T in the crucial parts of the *Agamemnon*, that T does not represent the tradition against τ. There are too many examples in the plays where we can control Triclinius' text that show τ alone against all MSS including T. In one way the situation with which we have until now been familiar may change totally; the MS T may very well represent the old tradition in some cases where F and G are the interpolated witnesses.

In the next pair ll. 647-651 = 652-656 Triclinius in T points out that he has corrected the first and fourth colon in the strophe:

οὕτω χρὴ γράφειν τὰ παρόντα κῶλα τὸ πρῶτόν τε καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ὡς διωρθώθη παρ' ἡμῶν.

[98] Page should have noted this omission in his apparatus.

The corrections are the deletion of the second ἢ l. 647 and the writing of εἴην for εἴη l. 649. The former of these interventions was clearly made for the sake of responsion [99] and is therefore not in τ; but the latter is there, because it is necessary διὰ τὴν χασμωδίαν as Triclinius says in T.[100]

The last pair is also colometrically identical in τ and T. However, in τ we find τε (l. 664) cancelled after καινά:

ὅπως καινὰ κλύεις νέα τ' ἄχη.

In T the particle returns to the text because of the responsion.[101]

We may then proceed with the third stasimon ll. 852-907. In the long scholium the song is analysed as consisting of anapaestic, iambic and trochaic cola. The non-anapaestic cola have been marked out in marginal notes throughout the song.

Since in T Triclinius analyses in a way very different from that accepted by modern editors, we should also try to discover the reason for his going astray here. In T ll. 852-857 are an epiphthegmatic system; the first strophe Triclinius finds at ll. 858-866 with the antistrophe at ll. 867-877, the second strophe and antistrophe at ll. 878-886 = 887-895 and finally the epode at ll. 896-907. From l. 878 the analysis is correct, but why did he take a wrong view of ll. 852-877? The explanation, I believe, is to be found in the τ analysis. Following the old colometry except for a few disagreements τ isolates 21 cola ll. 852-877. The only serious remodelling in τ is at the juncture ll. 867 ff. where Triclinius obviously preferred two catalectic dimeters:

οἷαι στρυμονίου πελάγους
ἀχελωίδες εἰσὶ πάροικοι

instead of M's arrangement in three cola: penthemimer, monometer and penthemimer. Now in τ l. 866 is marked τροχαικόν, and though the equally trochaic l. 877 is not marked thus (at least not in F) there can be little doubt that these trochaic cola were a kind of sign-post to Triclinius; he thought, not without reason in the case of l. 877, these cola to be clausulae. Then he must have found that

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[99] The second ἢ is also omitted in the MS D. For this MS, cf. Turyn, *Aeschylus* 36 f. and Dawe, *Collation* 41 f.; the latter points out that 'D is especially interesting as a philological compilation'.

[100] For this argument cf. sch. *Or.* 1537.

[101] Page's note 'καινά τε *codd.*' is inaccurate: both G and F omit the τε.

the antistrophe had one colon too much. In τ the section regarded as strophe in T numbers 10 cola, the antistrophe has 11. So he cancelled the colon at l. 875

τοῦδ' ἄνακτος ἄιον

which is still in τ, and thus reveals that T had no better reason for the deletion than the metrical analysis.

The σύστημα ἐπιφθεγματικόν was isolated by the observation made in τ that the colon l. 857 δαρεῖος ἄρχε χώρας was iambic in contrast to the surrounding anapaests.

We may begin the discussion of the *text* in this section. Because of the anapaestic analysis Triclinius deleted τε at l. 852 and wrote in τ:

ἀγαθᾶς πολισονόμου βιοτᾶς

The τε is reinstated in T with the slight adjustment πολισσονόμου (διὰ τὸ μέτρον s.l. T). Another exclusive τ-reading.

The deletion of ἐς οἴκους at l. 863 in T cannot be found in the earlier recension. This drastic intervention is based on Triclinius' misguided T analysis and he was no doubt correct in stating that he discarded the words himself (sch. on 863). Nor can his further interpolation of τε at l. 865 and τοῦ be found in the earlier work, since they have all been made in order to satisfy strophic responsion.

The third pair is correct in T. The emendation στεναγμῶν for the transmitted στεναγμάτων [102] should be ascribed to the desire for strophic responsion. In τ the colon τῶνδ' αἰτία στεναγμάτων is marked out as iambic, probably another signpost to Triclinius in T; the epode begins with the next colon.

We shall now finish our analysis of the two triadic plays with the most spectacular instances from the end of the *Persae* ll. 908 ff.

At the end of the anapaestic section ll. 916-917 Triclinius in τ arranged the cola in his favourite way, monometer + paroemiac. To effect a paroemiac he wrote

θανάτου κατὰ μοῖρα καλύψαι

and explained in one of the few textual scholia transmitted in F why he did so:

οἱ τὸ μοῖρα ποιοῦντες δοτικὴν ἀγνοοῦσι τὸ μέτρον ἀλλ' ἔστω ζεῦ καὶ ἔχει ὀρθῶς τὸ μοῖρα εὐθεῖα· εὕρηται γὰρ ἔν τι<νι> παλαιῶι οὕτως

[102] This is, for once, a correct emendation.

The other reading mentioned is ζεῦ for ζεύς l. 915. This is found in a number of *veteres*; the same goes for the reading μοῖρα. In T (f. 111v) we find a similar scholium

οἱ γράφοντες εἴθ' ὄφελε ζεύς καὶ τὸ μοῖρα ἐπὶ δοτικῆς νοοῦντες ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ μέτρα· σὺ δὲ οὕτω λέγε· ὦ ζεῦ εἴθε ὄφελε κατακαλύψαι καὶ ἐμὲ μοῖρα θανάτου μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν οἰχομένων. οὕτω καὶ τὸ ζεῦ ἐπικλητικὸν εἴποις καὶ τὸ μοῖρα βραχὺ ἕξει τὸ ρα. οὕτω γὰρ ἀπαιτεῖ τὸ μέτρον καὶ τὸ ὄφελε δὲ σμικρὸν γράφε διὰ τὸ μέτρον.

This correction of ὤφελε into ὄφελε is also in τ.

The whole *exodos* is analysed in a scholium on l. 908; it consists of anapaestic, iambic and trochaic cola of various lengths. Besides the long scholium each block of cola has its own short marginal scholium exactly as we saw it in the concluding parts of the *Septem*.

Triclinius was deceived by the indications of speakers at l. 928 to isolate ll. 918-927 as a strophe by the chorus. In τ l. 928 is given to Xerxes; T follows suit, and to effect period end (in T there is a paragraphos) at l. 927 he changed τ's ἐξέφθινται into ἔφθινται. The mechanical aspect of much of his textual criticism appears in this emendation; just as the prefix ἐκ- could be added, so it could be taken away, cf. above p. 138 with note 31.

περισσὴ ἦν ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἕξ. διὸ καὶ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ, χρὴ γὰρ ἐφθημιμερὲς εἶναι τὸ κῶλον ὡς ἀποθετικόν

Then he proceeds καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς δὲ κῶλα οὕτω γράφεσθαι χρὴ ὡς διωρθώθη παρ' ἡμῶν. This refers to his corrections of γαίας l. 929 into κατὰ γᾶν, of πατρίαι l. 932 into τε πατρῴα, and of ἄρ' ἐγενόμαν l. 933 into ἄρα γενοίμαν. None of these readings appear in τ. Now Triclinius did not in T operate on the basis of strophic responsion, so why are these corrections not found in the earlier recension?

The analysis in T is by and large based on τ: ll. 928-934 are regarded as two systems, and a strophe following the indications of speakers in τ. In the earlier recension ll. 928-929 are two brachycatalectic dimeters because l. 929 omits γαίας. It is reasonable to assume that γαίας was omitted for metrical reasons to effect two similar dimeters, but with γαίας in the text it would have been just as easy to join γαίας to the next colon, in τ a monometer, and thus to have three identical dimeters. I am therefore strongly inclined to think that the word was omitted in one of his sources, though G and F seem to be the only MSS to be without the word. From our

preceding analysis we should reckon this deletion among those made upon MS authority.

The really enigmatic passage is contained in the two last lines; here τ exhibits

μέλεος γένναι γᾶ πατρία
κακὸν ἀρ' ἐγενόμαν

I do not know of any MSS except G and F that omit τε after γᾶι. This is an exclusive τ reading devised to effect anapaestic metre (a hephthemimer to match the preceding colon). Later Triclinius obviously realized the absurdity of that text; having reinstated τε he mended the metre by hitting upon the correct πατρώιαι.[103] In the latter colon in T he wrote

κακὸν ἆρα γενοίμαν

The only purpose it seems, is to effect regular anapaests instead of the proceleusmatic he had accepted in τ:

κακὸν ἄρ' ἐγενόμαν

Triclinius called this colon a dimeter: δίμετρον ἐκ προκελευσματικοῦ. This is indeed very remarkable; do we really have a *bona-fide* case of monopodic measuring of anapaests? It would be improper to insist too much; yet I cannot see why F should have committed an error precisely here, when we do not elsewhere meet with the blunder δίμετρον instead of μονόμετρον in anapaests (there is however a similar blunder at sch. *Ag.* 1 where ἰοὺ ἰού is called an iambic dimeter). The fact remains that Triclinius in his Aristophanes in *Par. Suppl. gr.* 463 *did* hesitate between monopodic and dipodic analysis, so that there is considerably more than a fair chance that the scholium represents what was written by Triclinius in τ; if so it is the only case in τ of monopodic analysis of anapaests.

Not until l. 959 ff. do we meet with anything of interest. The transmitted text is

σούσας πελάγων καὶ
δοτάμας ἠδ' ἀγαβάτης
ψάμμις καὶ σουσισκάνης

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[103] The enigmatic D also has this correct text, cf. above n. 99.

In his earlier recension Triclinius interpolates a καί after σούσας to get three hephthemimers. This colon he did not tolerate in T where he had strophic responsion in mind, so he writes

σούσας ἠδὲ πελάγων καί

If in τ he found ἀγαβάτης in the Thoman text, as is almost certain, he corrected it into ἀγδαβάτας with Δ and B.[104]

At line 962 τ has ἔλιπον and so has T; the reason is that when this is written instead of ἀπέλ(ε)ιπον the lines 962-965 are 3 anapaestic brachycatalectic dimeters and a penthemimer

ὀλοοὺς ἔλιπον τυρίας
ναὸς ἔροντας ἐπ' ἀκταῖς
σαλαμινίσι στυφέλου
θείνοντας ἐπ' ἀκτᾶς

The third colon in this sequence (which in T is regarded as a σύστημα) cannot have been very pleasing to the mature Triclinius; he mended the passage by writing

σαλαμινίτισιν
στυφέλου θείνοντας ἐπ' ἀκτᾶς

Already τ has the interpolation of τε at l. 967

ποῦ δέ σοι φαρνοῦχός τε

This interpolation was made in order to obtain a row of four trochaic hephthemimers ll. 967-969.

We proceed to l. 979. According to the short marginal scholium in τ the section ll. 978-984 is a row of anapaestic hephthemimers. Thus we can understand why τόν l. 979 is omitted.[105] It reappears in T because there Triclinius does not apply his earlier Procrustean principles.

At least in F line 986 has no scholium, but since G shows πρὸς κακοῖς like T, it is to be assumed that the iambic trimeter was recognized in τ; F has πρὸ κακοῖς, perhaps a mere oversight? [106]

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[104] Besides ΔB the reading is also found in Lc. I do not know why Page only gives ἀγδαβάτας to G (and ΔBLc); it is also in F.

[105] The omission of τὸν in Q and C may be purely accidental; anyhow it is noteworthy that Q again agrees with the Triclinian MSS.

[106] F also has ἀγαυοῖς while GT have the—at least in the iambic analysis—correct ἀγαυοῖσι.

The reading τόλμον τ' l. 999 previously regarded as a Triclinian interpolation, is now recorded from QKLc. It makes its appearance already in τ; to eliminate the trochee in the first foot Triclinius took over this reading from his QK source.

At first the differences between the Triclinian MSS l. 1000 baffle the reader. While the other MSS have ἕταφον ἕταφον οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς F reads

ἕταφον ἕταφον σκηναῖς ἀμφί

with a scholium describing l. 1000-1002 as three brachycatalectic iambic trimeters. By no stretch of the imagination can the line conform to that description. When we turn to G for help we find

ἕταφον ἕταφον σκηναῖσιν οὐκ ἀμφί

which is a little better but not satisfactory. Finally T presents us with the line ἕταφον ἕταφον οὐκ ἀμφὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς which, according to the T scholia, is a brachycatalectic iambic trimeter, the description already met in the F scholium.

What has happened? T is the only MS to have the colon as it should be according to the scholium. The only explanation, one would think, is that G's version was the one in τ; neither G nor F have any trace of T's ταῖς so this word can hardly have been in τ. Or could it? Since the definite article so often appears as a gloss in our MSS Triclinius might well have written this word above the line in τ, to be mistaken for a gloss by the scribes of G and F. However, this will not explain the transpositions in G and F, for T only adds ταῖς to the traditional text. At some time in τ Triclinius must have tried to mend the line by transpositions; the result—apart from ταῖς— must be what we find in G. I suggest that τ had

β ταῖς α
ἕταφον ἕταφον οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖςϋ

with the numbers indicating the order. While transposing the words correctly, F forgot to copy οὐκ and also omitted the case ending. G, on the other hand, transposed the words as his exemplar told him to do.

The iambic analysis further provoked the τ-reading τροχηλάτοις (so also Q and K) in the next line against τροχηλάτοισι or τροχηλάτοισι δ'. The iambic colon l. 1008 (which is a trimeter) has suffered the interpolation of another standard particle: οἷαι δή appears first in τ and later in T.

The next section in τ, ll. 1009-1013, is analysed in a short marginal scholium as five iambic cola; of these the first, the third and the fourth are described as ἰαμβικὰ ἑφθημιμερῆ περιοδικὰ καλούμενα διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἰαμβικῆς καὶ τροχαικῆς συζυγίας συγκεῖσθαι. Now the long scholium says nothing about such cola; it does not mention the iambic hephthemimers or the name περιοδικά. What we have here is clearly a later addition just like the note mentioned above about the ionic cola, cf. p. 210. Triclinius later in T took these lines as a strophe and followed the τ analysis. It is characteristic that T omits διὰ τὸ, καλούμενα and συγκεῖσθαι in the description of the περιοδικά. The explanation no longer seemed correct to him.

The first colon in τ probably had εὔδηλα (so G and T) though F shows εὔδηλον. The GT reading is the correct one according to the scholium.

At l. 1011 both G and F have

ἰάνων ναυβατᾶν

This is evidently a case of the scholia presupposing another reading than the one transmitted in our two MSS. The colon as it stands in GF can only be a hemiolion; the τ scholium is written to explain a text where Triclinius had already written

ἰαόνων ναυβατᾶν

which is in the text of several *veteres*. The scribes of G and F must have overlooked the correction in τ. Hence we can be certain that ἰαόνων was not the original reading of the Thoman basis of τ.

In the fifth colon, in τ and T described as an anapaestic acatalectic dimeter, G is again correct against F:

δυσπόλεμον δὴ τὸ γένος περσῶν

F omits the τό. The text of G is also in QK and Lc while the other MSS have γένος τὸ περσῶν. The transposition caused the omission in F as we saw in a similar case above on *Pers.* 1000.

In the next line 1014 we have another early Triclinian emendation. GF present

πῶς δ' οὐ στρατὸν τοσοῦτον

without the μέν after στρατόν shown by the other MSS. It was omitted in order to secure a regular iambic colon. It reappears in T for here begins in the later recension a section κατὰ σχέσιν ll. 1014-1025 = 1026-1037.

I believe l. 1017 in τ exhibits a case similar to the one discussed at l. 1011. A scholium in F tells us that the line is an iambic trimeter, but the text in GF is emphatically not such a colon:

ὁρᾷς τὸ λοιπὸν τόδε τᾶς ἐμᾶς στολᾶς

When we turn to T we see that Triclinius also regarded the line as an iambic trimeter, but had written τάσδε instead of τόδε, and changed from genitive singular to accusative plural. Perhaps in τ he had written τᾶσδε *supra lineam* in such a way that both scribes mistook τᾶσδε for a gloss on τᾶς? At least the scholium implies that τόδε was not the reading of Triclinius in τ.

Line 1020 is called a dimeter in a supralinear scholium in F; which explains why he read

τανδί τ' ὀιστοδέγμονα

against τάνδε in the other MSS. This was taken over in T. The next cola l. 1021-1022 are transmitted as follows in GF:

τί τόδε λέγεις
σεσωσμένον θησαυρόν
βαιά γ' κτλ.

This text is somewhat disturbing, for the word βέλεσι which all other MSS including T have after θησαυρόν, has disappeared without trace in GF and consequently also in τ. For once it would seem that in τ Triclinius had indulged in the rabiate criticism with exclusively metrical justification which, as we have seen, is elsewhere only found in T.

At line 1025 we have valuable evidence that Triclinius in his later work employed MSS not available to him in his earlier recension. For here τ must have had the line divided into two iambic cola, a hephthemimer and a penthemimer

ἰαόνων δὲ λαὸς
οὐκ ἐκφυγαίχμας [107]

[107] Page asserts that G has ἰάνων. This is not the case; he overlooked that the upward stroke in the α represents the ο. In the next word λαός has been written in the same way in G; the ο looks like an upward stroke. But it should be noticed that G never uses this way of writing αν. Either the α is written with the majuscule type ᴀ or with the minuscule; in the latter case α and ν are always connected with a stroke.

The particle is an interpolation to make up a hepthemimer. Similarly ἐκφυγαίχμας must be a conjecture to produce a penthemimer instead of a monometer. Now T has

ἰαόνων δὲ λαὸς οὐ φυγαιχμίας

and tells us in a scholium (f. 115r)

οὕτως εὑρέθη ὁ στίχος ἔν τινι λίαν παλαιῶι βιβλίωι καὶ ἔχει πρὸς τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς· οἱ δὲ φυγαίχμας γράφοντες ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ μέτρα· ἴαμβος γὰρ χρὴ εἶναι ὁλόκληρος.

If Triclinius had had this old MS at his disposal while working on τ, it is incredible that he should not have followed it instead of conjecturing *suo Marte* ἐκφυγαίχμας. The testimony of this old witness would seem to apply to φυγαιχμίας only; the δέ was his own τ interpolation. He was indeed still looking for further MSS in the period between his work on τ and the final recension in T; but of course we cannot know what kind of sources he found or had access to during this interval.

Interpolation peculiar to τ occurs again at l. 1029. Here τόν is inserted after τραπέντα to effect regular iambics. It is not found in T for there Triclinius was bent upon restoring syllabic responsion between

τραπέντα ναύφρα||κτον

and

τί δ' οὐκ ὄλωλεν,

the latter colon having been taken over directly from τ.

An old stock-in-trade interpolation restored the metre in the next line. To make up an iambic trimeter the transmitted text

πέπλον δ' ἐπέρρηξ' ἐπὶ συμφορᾶι κακοῦ

had to suffer the insertion of a γ':

πέπλον δ' ἐπέρρηξά γ' ἐπὶ συμφορᾶι κακοῦ

This trimeter corresponded in T to the one established in τ l. 1017, so he took over his early interpolation in the final recension.

To get a row of three anapaestic penthemimers he dropped in τ the γ' after σθένος at l. 1035. Not so in T, where he had use for it to establish correspondence with l. 1023

βαιά γ' ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν

Before leaving these lines we should notice that l. 1037, cancelled in T, was still in τ. Why did he cancel it? The reason is that he had made l. 1025 into an iambic trimeter and found the corresponding colon in l. 1038, where already in τ he had noted ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον in the margin. Then the antistrophe had one colon too much and since l. 1024

ἐσπανίσμεθ' ἀρωγῶν

corresponded with l. 1036, l. 1037 had to go. Thus the deletion of the line was simply dictated by the strophic responsion, and was therefore not made in the early recension. On the other hand l. 1037 exhibits a peculiar τ interpolation. Other MSS have

φίλων ἄταισι ποντίαισι

where G and F show

φίλων τ' ἐν ἄταις ποντίαις,

the result of which is an iambic acatalectic dimeter. The traditional text would have yielded a hypercatalectic dimeter.

In the following section ll. 1039-46 = 1047-1054 there is one case to be mentioned. Already in τ we find l. 1053 the interpolation of καί to effect a hephthemimer.

Line 1056 we encounter another of the few textual scholia preserved in F. On the text

καί μοι γενείου πέρθε λευκήρη τρίχα

Triclinius remarked: οἱ γράφοντες ὕπερθεν ἀμαθεῖς τῶν μέτρων (τῷ μέτρῳ F).[108] The reading πέρθε is also in Lc [109] and K; hence it

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[108] In the past there has been considerable confusion about this scholium. Victorius printed it in his edition, not among the metrical scholia from F, but in the exegetic scholia in the form ἄλλως. πέρθε. οἱ γράφοντες κτλ. after the scholium ληπτέον ἔξωθεν τὸ κόπτε . . . δι' ἐμὴν χάριν. From Victorius this conglomeration was taken over by Stanley, Butler and Schütz and finally ended up in Dindorf, *Scholia* 503, 3-4 with the siglum A as if the Triclinian note was part of the A scholia.

[109] Lc is at any rate an enigmatic MS. It is not yet quite clear, to me at least, where this MS belongs in the history of the Byzantine recensions of Aeschylus. Bryson has made a case for Lc representing the first Thoman recension of Aeschylus, a case I find far from proved. Dawe, *Collation* 19 ff. has advanced some relevant arguments against Bryson's theory and I am willing to follow him part of the way. First and foremost Dawe points out that if Triclinius knew—and so he must have—the supposed second recension, it is unbelievable that he so often follows the earlier one. The crucial

must have been derived in τ from the QK source. The reason is that he saw that the line could be made into an iambic trimeter. In T he says nothing on this reading.

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point in Lc is the argument to the *Prometheus*. Lc agrees with Fb^{pc}, *Vat. gr.* 1824 and T in the version of the argument. Now, is this peculiar version the work of Triclinius or of Thomas ? According to Bryson, *Contributions* 27 Fb^{pc} and T derived it from Lc. On the other hand Lc carries some readings that look very much like Triclinian metrical emendations, cf. *Pers.* 992 where Lc and GFT share the interpolation of τι necessary in the anapaestic analysis of τ. There are other cases where Lc shares τ innovations admittedly most often together with Q and K. In fact it seems that Lc may have more than a remote connection with Q and K, cf. *Pers.* 1013 where Lc also has τὸ γένος, *Pers.* 999 τόλμον τ' LcKQGFT. More examples can easily be gathered from Page's apparatus. Is it possible to regard Lc as a substantially old witness furnished (by Triclinius or at any rate someone in his scriptorium) with the Thoman commentary ?

On Lc see besides Bryson's book, Turyn, *Aeschylus* 75, *Euripides* 45, Dawe, *Collation* 19 f.

On the hands in Lc I wish to point out that Turyn, *Euripides* 45 was correct in stating that the MS has been written by two scribes, one of which wrote the poetic text and the other wrote the preliminary matter; cf. also Bryson, *Contributions* 153 f. However, Turyn does not mention that the scholia, too, have been written by the scribe who wrote the preliminary matter. The *ductus* of this scribe can be studied on plate XII in Turyn's *Sophocles* where part of f. 118r in *Vat. gr.* 1333 is reproduced; cf. also plate I in Schartau, *Observations* II, where f. 1r in Cambridge University Library, *Nn.* 3.14 is reproduced. On plate III in Turyn's *Euripides* we have a reproduction of this latter MS f. 2v (the beginning of the *Hecuba*); if one compares the hand of *Vat.* 1333 with the one who wrote the scholia in *Nn.* 3.14, the two hands will be found to be identical. The situation on f. 2v obtains in the whole of *Nn.* 3.14; and the same is true for the Aeschylus part now bound as *Nn.* 3.17.1 (ff. 1-88). The Aristophanes codex *Nn.* 3.15.1 was written by the *Vat. gr.* 1333 scribe; according to Koster, Mnem. Ser. 4 17, 1964, 342 with n. 1 there is on f. 98r an entry of ownership written directly together with the last words on the page: Ἰωάννης ὁ Ζειανὸς ὁ κτήτωρ τοῦδε τοῦ βιβλίου. The same name is found in monocondylion on f. 60v in Lc, *Nn.* 3.17.1. Incidentally I wish to mention that on this same page f. 60v there is a quire signature λϛ; this must imply that the two MSS *Nn.* 3.14 and *Nn.* 3. 17.1 were originally parts of a much larger volume. Since the Euripides (now in *Nn.* 3.14) and the Aeschylus (now in *Nn.* 3.17.1) were separated after f. 121 of *Nn.* 3.14, I assume that f. 121 was the last folio in a quire, and accordingly the ff. 1-60 of *Nn.* 3.17.1 could be accounted for by the supposition that these folios were made up by 6 quinions. *Nn.* 3.14 now consists of 121 folios but some of the original pages are lost.

Turyn has already stated that the Euripides and the Aeschylus originally belonged together (cf. *Euripides* 46).

In this Euripides MS there are, according to Mr. Schartau, the following quire signatures: 14v ιϛ, 38v ιη, 62v κα. This means that the present MS *Nn.* 3.14 has lost its first part. I suspect that this very part is the present Aristophanes MS *Nn.* 3.15.1 where the only signature extant is ζ on f. 57r, cf. Koster, *op. cit.* 338 n. 4. According to information supplied to me by

We have then concluded our somewhat lengthy analysis of Triclinius' early metrical and textual work on the choral odes in the two triadic plays where we have evidence for τ. We have found

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Mr. A. E. B. Owen of Cambridge University Library (to whom I am very much obliged for his expert help in this matter), the MS *Nn.* 3.15.1 consists of fourteen quaternions plus a quire of which now only two leaves are extant (ff. 113-114). Now the Euripides *Nn.* 3.14 carries, as stated above, the signature ιε on f. 14v; if ff. 113 and 114 in *Nn.* 3.15.1 are the 2 first leaves of quire 14, ff. 1-6 in *Nn.* 3.14 may be the rest of this quire. Accordingly ff. 7-14 in *Nn.* 3.14 make up the quire numbered ιε on its last leaf f. 14v. The only serious obstacle is that it is nearly impossible to ascertain very much at present about the original composition of *Nn.* 3.14; the Aeschylus and the Euripides MSS seem to have been rebound differently from the original binding at some later date. At least the present composition of the quires does not lend support to my view; for example f. 60 in *Nn.* 3.17.1 on which I have found the signature λς now occurs in the middle of quire 9. But Mr. Owen tells me that there is unexpected evidence for my view; I quote his letter to me: "The general appearance of the relevant parts of the three manuscripts certainly supports the view that they once constituted a single codex. I have also noticed that wormholes on the last leaf of Nn. 3.15 part 1 and the first leaf of Nn. 3.14, and damp-stains on f. 121 of Nn. 3.14 and f. 1 of Nn. 3.17, seem to correspond with each other". This is valuable evidence which seems to me to settle the matter, whatever may be the explanation of the discrepancies between the original quire signatures and the present composition of the MSS: the three MSS originally constituted one large codex containing the triads of Aristophanes, Euripides and Aeschylus. I doubt, as I have stated previously, whether these MSS are "pure" Thoman MSS; the reference to Thomas' authorship of the scholia on f. 114v in *Nn.* 3.15.1 points towards Triclinius. Only in MSS connected with Triclinius do such references to the identity of commentators occur, cf. Turyn, *Euripides* 45 n. 77. If this is correct, the Naples MS II.F.9 (on which see Turyn, *Euripides loc. cit.* and *Dated Greek MSS* I, 39) may—to some degree at least—derive from Triclinian circles. It should be noticed that on ff. 198r-214v this MS contains Hesiod, *Works and Days* with scholia, copied from the autograph Triclinian Hesiod (cf. Livadaras, Ἱστορία 212 and 160); Livadaras' supposition, following Gallavotti, that *Neap.* II.F.9 was written by Triclinius is, of course, wrong. I do not know, since I have not seen the MS myself, on what evidence Livadaras' dating 1325 is based, but the Triclinian character of the Hesiod portion of the MS is sufficient to prove my point that *Neap.* II.F.9 is connected in some way with our scholar and his circle. The date 1325, if correct, means that the Hesiod part must have been copied in Thessalonica, in the Triclinian scriptorium. In this connection it should be pointed out that scholarly opinion (cf. Turyn, *locc. citt.*) has linked *Neap.* II.F.9 with Planudes. The MS should be studied further in order to solve these problems, and establish the relationship between Triclinius and Planudes on the basis of this MS; I must stress, however, that Turyn's view that the entire MS is by a single scribe cannot be correct. A comparison between plate II in Turyn's *Euripides* and plate X in his *Sophocles* shows that we have at least two different hands in the poetic texts and possibly also in the scholia. The Hesiod portion of which I have a specimen (f. 198r) has been written by the scribe who also wrote the page of Euripides

reason to believe that he first and foremost followed the old tradition for the colometry, but was nonetheless prepared to make considerable changes, both in text and colometry, in order to satisfy metrical requirements. What these requirements were we have seen illustrated in a very large number of cases. First of all he tried to reduce the cola to a restricted number of types, thereby effectively destroying what hypercatalectic cola he was able to emend. Next, he strove to produce rows of identical cola, a tendency that perhaps accounts for most of the textual changes in his early work.

The changes necessitated by these metrical requirements can be divided into two groups: the changes made by Triclinius himself, and the changes based upon MS authority.

His own changes seem mostly to have consisted of small additions or deletions of the type known so well from most of Triclinius' work.

The changes made upon MS authority are much more insidious. They are just as reckless and violent as those met with in his later work, and since we only know for certain one of these sources, the one he had in common with Q and K, it is difficult to have any opinion of the quality of the MSS to which he turned to obtain support for his more drastic interventions. If I am correct in my diagnosis of his early work, that the more extreme corrections are made on MS authority, we cannot have a very high opinion of the MSS employed by him.

It will thus be seen that our situation in three quarters of the *Agamemnon* is much more difficult than ever supposed, even by the most ardent believer in the Triclinian character of F and G. To make matters still worse T returns, as we have seen, to the transmitted text in a number of cases where the early recension shows excessive deletions. If this situation also obtains in the *Agamemnon*, we can never know whether the text regarded by most scholars as Triclinian interpolations in T, may in fact be MS readings discarded in FG (= τ) for metrical reasons.

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in Turyn's plate II. The same scribe wrote another early copy of the Triclinian Hesiod, the MS Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea *cl.* II, 116 of which I only have a specimen, ff. 111v-112r (the beginning of the *Works and Days*). On this MS see Livadaras, 'Ιστορία 212 and 234.

Also the MS Paris *Suppl. gr.* 110 can be shown to have affiliations with Triclinius, cf. Herington, *The Older Scholia* 19 and cf. further the MS *Coislin* 192 on the references of which to Thomas and Triclinius see Koster, *Scholia* V.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ANALYSIS OF LINES 40-257 OF THE AGAMEMNON

In the preceding chapter we analysed the text of the two triadic plays, and formulated some conclusions as to the character of Triclinius' early work on the choral odes of Aeschylus. The crucial problem is of course to what extent the characteristic features of this work can also be found in the non-triadic plays, especially in the *Agamemnon* where we only have his MSS to go upon for three quarters of the play.

I intend therefore to go through the lines 40-257 of the *Agamemnon*, in order to describe as objectively as possible the outcome of an analysis conducted on lines similar to those employed in the preceding plays. An analysis of this part of the play where both M and V are available as witnesses will, I hope, show what we may fairly expect to have happened in the rest of the play. A complete analysis of the whole of both plays would have no meaning at present; the reader will soon see for himself that in these plays we are to a very large extent in the dark, and I doubt whether anything positive could result from heaping one doubtful case upon another. I therefore prefer to concentrate on the lines 40-257 of the *Agamemnon* where in M and V we have reasonable knowledge of the old tradition.

The *parodos* of the play is analysed in the τ scholium on ll. 40 ff. into three ὑποθέσεις, covering ll. 40-103, 104-159 and 160-257. According to the τ scholium the first and second *hypotheses* are anapaestic, while the third is described as choriambic.

In the first ὑπόθεσις the colometry is identical in τ and M.[1] The same arrangement reappears in T where the section is regarded as a στροφὴ συστηματικὴ κώλων ξδ'. In T Triclinius refers to his analysis

[1] V, *Ven. Marc. gr.* 468 is very unreliable as far as the colometry is concerned. The MS has been written very closely with three columns to a page which means that the shorter cola often have been written together. In the section *Ag.* 40-103 the anapaestic cola have been allowed to stand; and accordingly the arrangement is almost totally the same as in M. But though the lyric cola have been written together, there is in the main agreement between V and M. Where V is not expressly quoted for a given arrangement, the testimony of this MS has been regarded as inconclusive.

of the *parodos* of the *Persae*, which has been arranged in the same way. Apart from this reference to the *Persae* commentary and the more Hephaestionean vocabulary, the description of the section ll. 40-103 is identical in τ and T; the cola are anapaestic acatalectic and catalectic dimeters and monometers.

The first case to be noticed is the possible metrical correction at l. 48 where both Triclinian recensions offer κλάγξαντες instead of κλάζοντες. Zuntz pointed out that this was motivated by Triclinius' 'uncertainty about the lengthening effect of ζ'.[2] The alteration was made in order to avoid an iamb, though it must be admitted that Triclinius elsewhere accepted this licence, cf. above p. 157 f. An emendation for the same reason appears at l. 82: M and V have ἡμερόφατον against ἡμερόφαντον in TF. It seems as if Triclinius in order to avoid an iamb hit upon the correct form of this word.

Methodically speaking one cannot exclude the possibility that the Triclinian text is the one he read in ψ. But even so one would hardly ascribe both ἡμερόφαντον and κλάγξαντες to ψ; naturally one would suppose that the good emendation was not Triclinian and that the bad one was. For several reasons this is very unsatisfactory; the only safe criterion for a ψ reading is that it can be shown to be unmetrical according to Triclinius' early metrical theory. Where we are confronted with a clear-cut divergence between MV and FT, and moreover FT is the metrically correct reading—again on the basis of the early Triclinian view—we have to ascribe it to Triclinius. To ascribe good readings to ψ and bad readings to Triclinius is methodically unsound however correct such an ascription might be in some cases.

Some rather unconvincing arguments have been brought forward in order to solve the problem of the authority of a given reading. If we have to do with the type of seeming emendation known to be Triclinian, e.g. the insertion of particles etc., we naturally incline to ascribe it to him. What we cannot do on our present knowledge is to deny him the authorship of a given emendation simply on the grounds that he could not have made it. This is a point where I think many scholars have jumped to wrong conclusions, often in connection with insufficient sifting of the available material.

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[2] *Inquiry* 209. It is only fair to point out that though κλάγξαντες does look like a metrical correction, it is puzzling that Triclinius did not know the lengthening effect of ζ, in view of the rarity of cases where ζ does *not* lengthen a preceding vowel.

There has been a very deplorable tendency to deduce from Triclinius' actual achievement, facts about what was beyond his powers. In his otherwise very prudent discussion of this aspect of Triclinius' activities Zuntz seems to have used precisely this line of reasoning; concluding from what Triclinius usually did and could do, Zuntz ascribed to MS authority what he considered Triclinius incapable of. What I deny is the proposition by Zuntz, *Inquiry* 201 that a survey of the *bona-fide* interpolations and emendations of the Byzantine scribes 'by implication ... may show also what was beyond their ability'. For it appears that the criterion used to distinguish between Triclinian and MS readings is to be one of quality; the gross amount of insertions of stop-gaps and the like is of course Triclinius' property, but when, according to Zuntz (*Inquiry* 199), we find him inserting ἐξέβαλε at Eur. *H.F.* 924, how are we to judge the authorship? The insertion was made by Triclinius in the last stage of his work on L; is it very likely that at this late stage he looked up the line in the exemplar Λ, or even in the 'Eustathius' copy ε, to see whether a variant reading was recorded there? I think not. So, partly because I do not recognize the admissibility of assessing from what Triclinius did at his most ordinary level the extent of what he could not do, and partly because the border between these two categories is established on quite unsafe grounds (the quality of each emendation in turn), I maintain that we have to decide entirely negatively, that is, we can only judge a reading to be genuine tradition if it runs counter to Triclinius' metrical theories. It is not very likely, I presume, that Triclinius would deliberately have produced a conjecture that was unmetrical in his own view. This applies only to his work on the *Agamemnon* and the *Eumenides*, where we have to face the problem of whether a reading peculiar to GF (in the *Agamemnon* where MV is preserved) or to GFE (in the *Eumenides* where M is available for comparison) is due to Triclinius or represents the ancient tradition in ψ, since it stands to reason that the problem is different in the alphabetical plays of Euripides. There we have to decide the more general question: Euripides or Triclinius? In the part of the *Agamemnon* where we only have GFT, the question is the same: Aeschylus or Triclinius?

Though I shall maintain that the negative criterion is the only safe one, we must in practice employ the rather less safe one that where Triclinius disagrees with M(V) the reason may be Triclinian

interpolation, especially if the M(V) reading is unmetrical in Triclinius' view and the reading of the Triclinian MSS is metrical.

To proceed with the analysis, line 91 F (= τ) has

βωμοὶ δώροις φλέγονται

like M and V. Triclinius in T, however, wrote δώροισι to obtain regular anapaests by means of a very simple adjustment; so simple, in fact, that it seems incredible that he had not made it already in the earlier recension. Our uneasiness as to the truth of the reading of F becomes the greater when we remember the preceding corrections at ll. 48 and 82. I have not the slightest doubt that τ also received his attention here. Our suspicion approaches near certainty at l. 94; his close attention to the anapaests is revealed by his reading χρίσματος for χρίματος (V's χρήματος is an obvious iotacistic error for the M reading).

In the last line of the first section we have in F at l. 103

τὴν θυμοβόρον λύπης φρένα

against MV

τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα

This is an almost desperate case, witness Fraenkel's comment: 'so far no one has found the true remedy'. Page is more pessimistic in his commentary: 'nothing but merest guesswork is possible here'. The question is, what in this line can be regarded as the *paradosis*?

Since M and V agree with F in reading λύπης φρένα we may be fairly certain that T's λυποφρένα is Triclinian. He says in his scholium (f. 120r):

λυποφρένα δὲ γράφε· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει πρὸς τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς,

which is not conclusive, but still supports the idea that the T reading is his own emendation of λύπης φρένα. So far so good. What of θυμοφθόρον / θυμοβόρον? Here the MSS are neatly divided; previously scholars have found independent testimony in the M scholium on ἐλπίς l. 101:

ἥτις ἐστὶ θυμοβόρος λύπη τῆς φρενός.

The problem becomes still more puzzling when we realize that θυμοφθόρος is more likely to be a gloss on θυμοβόρος than the reverse,

cf. Hesych. θυμοβόροιο· ψυχοφθόρου.[3] Moreover, I should think it apposite to observe that the M scholium can hardly have been meant to gloss the text as we have it in M.[4] For our purpose it is enough to weigh the possibilities of whether θυμοβόρος or θυμοφθόρος was the ψ text, or whether θυμοβόρος is a conjecture by Triclinius. I think what we can say with confidence is that if θυμοφθόρον had been the ψ text he would have been more than likely to try to correct it since it is plainly unmetrical. Whether θυμοβόρον is a metrical conjecture is more difficult to decide. I think it is; at first Triclinius tried to mend the traditional text by reading θυμοβόρον λύπης φρένα; only later did he find a satisfactory way of dealing with the last part of the colon and conjectured λυποφρένα. The ψ tradition cannot have had λυποφρένα, for why should Triclinius in τ have rejected this in favour of the unmetrical λύπης φρένα?

From l. 104 on, Triclinius in his later work discerned strophe and antistrophe; in the earlier recension he put the beginning of a new ὑπόθεσις here, which like the preceding consisted of anapaests, penthemimers, hepthemimers, acatalectic dimeters and some monometers, as he says.

I have already in chapter III commented upon the difference between the treatment of the triadic and of the non-triadic plays in T. We saw that he kept his detailed analysis at a minimum, sometimes offering considerably less than in the earlier recension. This applies also to the analysis of the present song. He notes of course the fact that the strophes and antistrophes κατὰ σχέσιν begin here, and he also gives the same types of anapaestic cola as in τ; so far the only difference between τ and T is the Hephaestionean κατὰ σχέσιν concept in T which is absent from τ, (apart from the main difference that the colometrical signs are almost completely non-existent in τ). Then he adds that some of the cola are iambic and dactylic. Dactylic cola are, as we have stated previously, not recognised in τ; but the iambic cola give the impression of being an

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[3] This was pointed out by Thomson, and ought to be taken into account, even if one disagrees with his rewriting of the poetic text at this juncture.

[4] The scholium points in the direction of something like Hermann's φρενολύπης, though I would not for a moment consider it suitable in the text, any more than the similarly unattractive proposal τῆς θυμοβόρου φρενὶ λύπης by the same scholar. At any rate λύπη τῆς φρενός in the sch. M cannot have been written to explain λύπης φρένα. For a similar scholium, cf. sch. *Suppl.* 850c (my edition) where φρενί τ' ἄταν has been glossed with τὴν ἄτην τῆς φρενός; in the *Agamemnon* the accusative φρένα is incompatible with the scholium.

addition in T. This they are not, for they have been mentioned in the small marginal scholia in τ e.g. at ll. 120 and 139. So the metrical analysis of the cola is, apart from the dactyls, completely identical in the two recensions. In T Triclinius simply took over his earlier analysis. Had he taken the trouble to make a complete revision here in the same way as he did in the triadic plays, he would have been able to see the mainly dactylic nature of this song.

Triclinius' usual colometrical tendencies in τ appear very neatly at the beginning of the song. Lines 104-107 are made into four acatalectic dimeters by taking as a starting-point the first colon as it is in the old tradition. Apart from this there is agreement between τ and M on this subject.

A textual difference appears at l. 117. F has here

παμπρέποισιν ἕδραις

whereas M shows

παμπρέπτοις (παμπρέποις m) ἐν ἕδραισιν

which would be a brachycatalectic dimeter. Apparently Triclinius found no other cola in this song that could be so described, and corrected it into a more regular (in this ode at least) length, though F as it stands is plainly unmetrical; I suppose Triclinius wrote παμπρέπτοισιν. The context is also favourable for a penthemimer since both the preceding (χερὸς ἐκ δορυπάλτου) and the following colon (βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν) are of this shape. T again has a different text. There he was led by the responsion to write

παμπρέπτεσιν ἕδραις

Though he asserts in a supralinear note that ἡ εὐθεῖα ἡ παμπρέπτις, the word seems unrecorded elsewhere. I cannot believe that it is anything but of his own devising.

Whether φέρβοντο in FT (ἐριχύμονα φέρβοντο γένναν) instead of φέρματι l. 119 is Triclinius' conjecture or not, there cannot fairly be any reason to think that it was made on metrical grounds. It was made to help the syntax; metrically it must have seemed inferior to Triclinius, if he had the choice.

At l. 120 we have in τ the note ἰαμβικὸν δίμετρον; this must be based on an observation made later than the long scholium on l. 40, where we do not hear about iambic cola. Thus Triclinius' work on the non-triadic plays of Aeschylus must also have been carried

out in stages. In T, as we have seen, he incorporated these later notes in the long scholium on l. 104.

We encounter at l. 121 (repeated l. 139 and 159) a familiar situation: the earlier recension shows its own form of the text against the later recension and the old tradition. F has

αἴλινον εἴπε τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω

Whereas both MV and T have αἴλινον written twice. The reason for the early innovation is metrical; by deleting the second αἴλινον Triclinius produced a colon of a type regularly found in this song, the acatalectic dimeter (instead of the brachycatalectic trimeter) which is not mentioned in the scholium at l. 40. It is hardly necessary to suppose that he had MS authority, in order to account for the deletion; the word written twice may have looked to him like an ordinary dittography. In T where he no longer felt the impulse to treat the text in this way, he quietly returned to the old tradition and called the colon a dactylic pentameter.

A few lines later at 125 another hemiolion or brachycatalectic dimeter disappeared in τ (cf. l. 117). The particle οὖν in τ in the colon

οὕτω δ' οὖν εἴπε τεράζων

must owe its existence to Triclinius' attempt to straighten out the colon, in accordance with his general view of the structure of the cola in the song. Again we find that T drops this interpolation because of the strophic responsion.

It is doubtful whether he in τ at l. 136 was presented with πτανοῖσιν (M) or πτανοῖσι (V). Neither of these readings made metrical sense to him; V is unmetrical and M yields another example of the despised brachycatalectic dimeter. The FT reading πτανοῖς restores a penthemimer; hence I submit that this reading is due to a deliberate change of the old tradition by our critic. Later he used this colon to emend the colon in the strophe (cf. on l. 117 above).

On the epode ll. 140-159 there is as we whould expect a separate scholium in T which tells us that the cola are iambic, dactylic and anapaestic; there is no scholium in τ, for this section is covered by the long scholium at l. 40. Nor are there any short scholia; but this defect may be ascribed to the very markedly dwindling zeal of the copyist of F. We have good reason to assume that here again T only

takes over what was already in τ except for the dactylic cola. Thus I have no doubt that τ had already recognised the iambic colon l. 140. If so, the particular form of that line in τ will require our close attention. It will be recalled that the old tradition omits in this line the indispensable definite article ἁ:

τόσον περ εὔφρων καλά (MV)

The Triclinian MSS FT do have the article, and I suspect that ἁ is due to Triclinius' diagnosis of the colon as iambic; note that he in τ carefully writes ἰαμβικὸν δίμετρον against the preceding line 138 στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν. Some critics have objected to the idea that ἁ fundamentally represents a Triclinian (or Byzantine) emendation. Ahrens, for instance (*Studien* 282) asserted that ἁ 'sieht doch nicht nach einen byzantinischen Emendation aus'. Why not? It must be remembered, there are scores of places where Triclinius has inserted various forms of the definite article; this is one of his most worn clichés. The real reason why critics are reluctant to attribute the emendation to Triclinius is that it happens to be correct, and if it is a conjecture, it is a really good one at that.

A difficult and perhaps insoluble problem awaits us in the next line where the MSS are at variance. The Triclinian ones lack the ὄντων transmitted in M and V and corrected by Pearson into λεόντων. From our experience in the preceding plays we should conclude that ὄντων was omitted in ψ, or at least that Triclinius had MS authority to back him. The word does not fit into the metrical analysis. At line 143 the anapaestic metre is once again made regular by a slight adjustment. MV share the reading ὀβρικάλοισι against FT ὀβρικάλοις. The latter form is necessary in the anapaestic analysis, and yields a hephthemimer.

The text and colometry at l. 145 present some very interesting features. M arranges the lines (V has one colon):

δεξιὰ μὲν κατάμομφα
δὲ φάσματα στρουθῶν

To make the cola anapaestic Triclinius at first wrote them in this way

δεξιὰ μὲν κατά-
μομφα δὲ φάσματα τῶν στρουθῶν

inserting a well known stop-gap to make the second colon a hephthemimer instead of brachycatalectic. This may be the whole story;

but the structure of the cola looks very much like a clausula monometer + paroemiac. Can this be deliberate? As we have had occasion to observe several times, τ usually has no idea of what was to happen later in T, where Triclinius divides the longer anapaestic series into periods, marking these periods with the *paragraphos*. In T there is no *paragraphos*, for as we shall see in a moment the colometry is different in the later recension. But in T the first word of the next line ἰήιον has been written protruding slightly from the text column, and with a large initial ι as if a new period began here. Hence I cannot refrain from thinking that this special structure in τ may have a connection with the situation in T. T now arranges the cola in a new way

δεξιὰ μὲν κατάμομφα δὲ
φάσματα τῶν στρουθῶν

In T these cola were probably regarded as dactylic; this would explain the rejection of the earlier arrangement which is clearly based on the anapaestic analysis.[5]

We come now to the third ὑπόθεσις in τ ll. 160-257 analysed into choriambic cola. The silence in the later recension as to the nature of the lines can be understood by taking into account the use of the term choriambic in τ; in T Triclinius did not wish to take over this description which was no longer satisfactory, nor did he wish to take the trouble to make a new detailed analysis. Hence in the T scholium on 160 (f. 121v) he only states the number of cola in the strophes and antistrophes of ll. 160-257 and adds

ἃ καὶ μετρήσεις τοῖς προτέροις ἑπόμενος· εὔγνωστα γὰρ ἂν εἴη σοι καὶ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἐκείνων ἐσχηκότι τὴν γνῶσιν

In τ he actually gives more help; the cola are described as acatalectic and catalectic dimeters, hemiolia, penthemimers and brachycatalectic and catalectic trimeters, being the lengths usually employed in the early recension.

Not until l. 187 do we meet with an emendation in τ as against the old tradition. I disregard the peculiar T emendations at ll. 165 and 170 both of which are due to strophic responsion and therefore do not appear in τ. At l. 187 it would seem that τ had τύχαις (F) for

[5] I thus agree with Fraenkel against Wilamowitz that στρουθῶν was the original form of the interpolation. It is pre-Byzantine, whereas the insertion of τῶν (and here I do not agree with Fraenkel) was due to Triclinius.

τύχαισι in MVT to avoid a hypercatalectic dimeter. For reasons of strophic responsion T returns to τύχαισι.

Another slight adjustment of the same type is found in τ at l. 209. Here Triclinius reads παρθενοσφάγοις to obtain an acatalectic dimeter instead of a hypercatalectic one, which would have been the result of accepting MVT's παρθενοσφάγοισι(ν).

Led by the strophic responsion Triclinius later put the text right at l. 212; this is not in τ for the text matches his general description; the colon

κακῶν τί πῶς λειπόναυς τε γένωμαι

was a catalectic trimeter. I do not think metre has anything to do with the curious FT transposition at l. 217, which gives

θέμις γὰρ εὖ εἴη

for M's (V has περιόργως—εἴη as one colon)

θέμις εὖ γὰρ εἴη,

since the choice is between a hemiolion (FT) and a penthemimer (M). More likely, Triclinius was puzzled by the position of γὰρ in the text of the old tradition.

In the remaining lines of this song there are no disagreements for metrical reasons between τ and the old tradition; there are a number of readings peculiar to T all of which have been introduced for the usual reason.

The result of our somewhat tentative analysis of the text of ll. 40-257 would seem to be that there are no very important differences between Triclinius' work on the non-triadic plays and that on the triad. The same tendencies appear more or less clearly; the reader may feel that Triclinius was more reluctant to make drastic interventions here. This is true to some extent, and will have to be explained by the fact that his manuscript sources were considerably less rich here; but since our sources are almost as poor, his seeming reluctance may be an optical illusion. Still, we have found enough material to be able to refute the opinion of those scholars who hold that GF represent a pre-Triclinian text; G and F are Triclinian and carry enough traces of our critic to admit of this description. In these 217 lines we have found no less than 14 reasonably certain cases of Triclinian textual criticism already in τ. It is noteworthy that four of these are found in the passage 140-145; his emendations tend to appear in clusters.

I shall not leave the text of the *Agamemnon*, and the problems facing us there, without trying to formulate possible lines for further research. If the conclusions we have reached in this study are safe it should be possible to analyse those cases where GF and T disagree, and see whether these disagreements point towards early Triclinian intervention, as against the old tradition in T. We have met this situation so often in cases where it was possible to check, that many divisions between τ and T may be so explained, especially if the τ text agrees with the metrical description, and if the T text yields one of the metrical shapes avoided in τ.

Where GFT agree we have no means of knowing whether τ represents an emendation or interpolation taken over in T, except where modern scholars have shown the text to be corrupt. A possible subject for further research would be an analysis of those cases where modern scholarship has found fault with GFT. Can some of these errors be shown to have originated in τ, or can they be shown to be old?

With these suggestions I finish the present inquiry. I hope that I have been able to offer a clarification of some very important problems in our manuscript tradition of Aeschylus, and to give a more reasonable account than has hitherto been given of the work of the first modern textual critic and metrician, Demetrius Triclinius.

APPENDIX I

THE τ RECENSION OF THE SCHOLIA ON THE *SEPTEM* AND THE *PERSAE*

In Appendix I I present the text of the Triclinian metrical scholia on the *Septem* and the *Persae* in the earlier recension. I dispense with the customary apparatus; critical notes have been placed in the text in round brackets. This I have done mainly for the reason that a full regular apparatus will appear in the second volume of my complete edition of the scholia on Aeschylus. The edition presented in this Appendix is solely for the convenience of the reader of the present study.

The MSS used are F, *Laur.* 31, 8 and G, *Ven. Marc. gr.* 616. I have omitted as useless in this case the sigla indicating the MSS in which each scholium is found; G only has twc scholia, *Pers.* 1-158 and 159-175. Thus my text almost entirely rests upon F. I add that I base my reports on personal inspection of both MSS.

Scholia Proto-Tricliniana in Aeschyli Septem adversus Thebas

1-77. † ἡ εἴσθεσις τοῦ παρόντος δράματος ἐκ μονοστροφικῆς ἐστι περιόδου· οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι οζʹ ὧν τελευταῖος πόλις γὰρ εὖ πράσσουσα δαίμονας τίει.

2. πόλεως] συνίζησις.

57. πόλεως] συνίζησις.

78-180. † θρεῦμαι φοβερά· ὁ παρὼν χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ κώλων ριδʹ ὧν τὰ μέν ἐστι χοριαμβικά, τὰ δὲ εἰ βούλει, καὶ ἀντισπαστικὰ πενθημιμερῆ καὶ ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ ἡμιόλια καὶ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα ὧν τελευταῖον (τελευταῖος F) μνήστορες ἐστέ μοι· οὕτω δὲ χρὴ μετρηθῆναι μᾶλλον ἵν' εἴη κατ' ἄλληλα τὰ κῶλα, ὡς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων χορῶν.

90. τειχέων] συνίζησις.

98. βρετέων] συνίζησις.

106. τεὰν] συνίζησις.

181-202. † εἴσθεσις διπλῆς ἧς προτίθεται ἡ μονοστροφικὴ αὕτη περίοδος στίχων οὖσα ἰαμβικῶν τριμέτρων ἀκαταλήκτων καʹ.

203-207. † ὦ φίλον οἰδίπου· εἴσθεσις συνεχοῦς διπλῆς ἀντιστρόφους

(ἀντιστρόφου F) τὰς περιόδους ἔχουσα· εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοῦ χοροῦ <κῶλα> ἀντισπαστικά, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ὑποκρίτου ἰαμβικά. εἰσὶν οὖν τὰ τοῦ παρόντος χοροῦ κῶλα ἀντισπαστικὰ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα δ′, τὸ δὲ ε′ δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἤτοι ἡμιόλιον. δέχονται δὲ καὶ πεντασυλλάβους πόδας καὶ ἑξασυλλάβους. ἔοικε δὲ στροφῇ· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ ἀντίστροφον τὰ ἑξῆς τοῦ χοροῦ κῶλα. οὐκ εἰσιν οἱ χορίαμβοι ἐν τάξει, ἀλλὰ προστιθεμένης τῆς ἑξῆς συλλαβῆς γίνεται ἀντισπαστικὸν τὸ μέτρον ἐκ πεντασυλλάβου ποδός.

203-207. † ὅμοια χρὴ εἶναι τοῖς ἑξῆς τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα.

208-210. † ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι στίχοι τρεῖς.

211-215. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα ε′ ἰσόμετρα τοῖς ἄνω. ἔοικε δὲ ἀντιστροφὴ εἶναι τῆς ἄνω στροφῆς.

212. θεοῖς] συνίζησις.

214. πόλεως] συνίζησις.

216-218. † ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι τρεῖς.

219-222. † ἑτέρα στροφή. τὰ δὲ κῶλα ἀντισπαστικὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ἄνω γ′, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἡμιόλιον.

223-225. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι γ′.

226-229. † ἑτέρα ἀντιστροφή. τὰ δὲ κῶλα ἀντισπαστικὰ ὅμοια τοῖς τῆς στροφῆς τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα γ′, τὸ δὲ δ′ ἡμιόλιον.

229. † οὕτω χρὴ γράφεσθαι ἵν' εἴη τὸ ἑξῆς ἡμιόλιον ὡς τὰ λοιπά.

230-232. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι γ′.

233-235. † ἑτέρα στροφή. τὰ δὲ κῶλα ἀντισπαστικὰ τρίμετρα ὅμοια τοῖς ἄνω β′, τὸ δὲ γ′ ἡμιόλιον.

236-238. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι γ′.

239-241. † ἑτέρα ἀντιστροφή. τὰ δὲ κῶλα ἀντισπαστικὰ τρίμετρα ὅμοια τοῖς ἄνω β′, τὸ δὲ γ′ ἡμιόλιον.

242-286. οἱ ἑξῆς στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι με′.

286. στίχοι με′.

287-374. † μέλλει φόβωι δ'· οὗτος ὁ χορὸς συνίσταται ἐκ κώλων χοριαμβικῶν πδ′ ὧν τὰ μέν ἐστι τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικά, τὰ δὲ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἡμιόλια. εἰσὶ δὲ ἀναπαιστικά τινα δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα ὧν τελευταῖον ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον. ἐν ἐκθέσει δὲ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι ἕξ.

287-368. † οὕτως εὑρέθη τὰ κῶλα τοῦ χοροῦ ἐν ἑτέροις παλαιοῖς.

321-323. ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα τὰ γ′.

333-334. ἀναπαιστικὰ τὰ β′ δίμετρα.

343-344. † ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα β′.

369-374. † ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι στίχοι ἕξ.

375-416. † λέγοιμ' ἄν· εἴσθεσις διπλῆς καθόλου ἀμοιβαίας περιόδους ἔχουσα καὶ μονοστρόφους ἑπτά. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι· τὰ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην περίοδον τοῦ χοροῦ κῶλά εἰσιν ἀντισπαστικά. ἐν ἐκθέσει δὲ συνεχής ἐστι διπλῆ μερική. εἰσὶν οὖν τῆς παρούσης περιόδου στίχοι τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι μβ' ὧν τελευταῖος εἴργειν τεκούσηι μητρὶ πολέμιον δόρυ.

416. στίχοι μβ'.

417-421. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα ε', τὰ δ' τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ ε' ἡμιόλιον. ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς πάντα τοὺς πλείους τῶν ποδῶν καὶ πεντασυλλάβους καὶ ἑξασυλλάβους. διαλύονται γὰρ καὶ τῶν τετρασυλλάβων ποδῶν αἱ μακραὶ συλλαβαὶ εἰς δύο βραχέας. ἔοικε δὲ στροφῆι· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ ἀντίστροφον τὰ κῶλα τὰ ἑξῆς τοῦ χοροῦ. ἴσθι ὅτι οἱ χορίαμβοι οὐκ ἐν τάξει αὐτῶν κεῖνται ἀλλὰ προστιθεμένης καὶ ἑτέρας συλλαβῆς γίνονται πεντασύλλαβοι καὶ ἀποτελοῦσιν ἐπιτρίτους· ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ λοιποί.

417-421. † ὅμοια χρὴ εἶναι τοῖς ἑξῆς.

418. πόλεως] συνίζησις.

422-451. † διπλῆς ἑτέρα περίοδος. οἱ δὲ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι λ'.

451. στίχοι λ'.

452-456. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα ε' ἰσόμετρα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἔοικε δὲ εἶναι ταῦτα ἀντιστροφὴ τῆς προτέρας στροφῆς.

457-480. † διπλῆς ἑτέρα περίοδος. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι κδ'.

480. στίχοι κδ'.

481-485. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα ε', τὰ δ' τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα ὅμοια τοῖς προτέροις, τὸ δὲ ε' ἡμιόλιον. ἔοικε δὲ ἑτέραι στροφῆι.

486-520. † διπλῆς ἑτέρα περίοδος. οἱ δὲ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι λε'.

520. στίχοι λε'.

521-525. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα ε' ἰσόμετρα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἔοικε δὲ εἶναι ταῦτα ἀντιστροφή.

526-562. † διπλῆς ἑτέρα περίοδος. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι λζ'.

563-567. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα ε', τὰ μὲν δ' τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ ε' ἡμιόλιον. ἔοικε (ἔοικα F) δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἑτέρα στροφή. ἔχει γὰρ καὶ ἀντίστροφον τὰ κῶλα τοῦ ἑξῆς χοροῦ. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πεντασυλλάβους καὶ ἑξασυλλάβους πόδας.

568-625. † διπλῆς ἑτέρα περίοδος. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι νη'.

625. στίχοι νη'.

626-630. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα ε′ ἰσόμετρα τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἔοικε δὲ εἶναι ταῦτα ἀντιστροφή.

631-685. † διπλῆς ἑτέρα περίοδος. οἱ δὲ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι νε′.

685. στίχοι νε′.

686-688. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα γ′. τὰ δύο τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἡμιόλιον. ἔοικε δὲ στροφῆι· ἰσόμετρα δέ εἰσι τοῖς προρρηθεῖσι εἰ καὶ πλείω συλλαβὰς ἔχει.

689-691. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι γ′.

692-694. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα γ′ ἰσόμετρα τοῖς ἄνω.

695-697. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι γ′.

698-701. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα δ′, τὰ γ′ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ δ′ ἡμιόλιον. ἔοικε δὲ ἑτέραι στροφῆι.

700. θεοὶ] συνίζησις.

702-704. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι γ′.

705-708. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα δ′ ἰσόμετρα τοῖς ἄνω τοῦ χοροῦ κώλοις.

709-719. † ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι ια′ ἐν ἐκθέσει τῆς διπλῆς.

720-791. † οὗτος ὁ χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ κώλων οβ′ ὧν τὰ πρῶτα ιδ′ ἀναπαιστικά. τὰ μὲν δίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ ἀκατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ. τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς πάντα χοριαμβικὰ καὶ ἀντισπαστικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικὰ καὶ ἡμιόλια καὶ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα.

722. ἃ γὰρ . . . καὶ γέγονε] οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα ἐν ἑτέροις.

733. ἀμοίρους] ιδ′.

733. ἀμοίρους] κοινὴ συλλαβὴ τὸ μοι διὰ τὸ ρ̄.

791. κῶλα οβ′.

792-819. † εἴσθεσις μερικῆς διπλῆς. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι λ′.

822-870. † ὦ μέγαλε ζεῦ· ὁ χορὸς οὗτος συνίσταται ἐκ κώλων καὶ στίχων με′ ὧν τὰ πρῶτα δέκα ἀναπαιστικά, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δύο δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ γ′ μονόμετρον, τὰ ἑξῆς πέντε δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ ἔννατον μονόμετρον, τὸ δὲ ι′ δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερές, ὃ καλεῖται παροιμιακόν, εἶτα μεταβὰς εἰς ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἐνήλλαξεν. εἰσὶν οὖν τὰ ἑξῆς δύο κῶλα τροχαϊκά, τὸ πρῶτον δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐφθημιμερές, ὁ ιγ′ ἰαμβικὸς στίχος τρίμετρος ἀκατάληκτος, τὰ ἑξῆς β′ κῶλα τροχαϊκὰ ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὰ ἑξῆς δύο κῶλα ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὰ ἑξῆς γ′ τροχαϊκά, τὸ β′ δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὰ δὲ β′ ἐφθημιμερῆ, ὁ κα′ ἰαμβικὸς στίχος τρίμετρος ἀκατάληκτος, τὰ ἑξῆς δ′ ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ ε′ τροχαϊκὸν ἐφθημιμερές, ὁ κζ′ ἰαμβικὸς στίχος τρίμετρος ἀκατάληκτος, τὰ ἑξῆς δ′ κῶλα ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα

ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ ε′ τροχαικὸν ἐφθημιμερές. εἶτα μεταβὰς εἰς ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἐνήλλαξεν. εἰσὶν οὖν στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι ε′, ἐν ἐκθέσει δὲ κῶλον ἀναπαιστικὸν ἐφθημιμερὲς ὅμοιον τοῖς ἑξῆς· ἔθος γάρ ἐστι τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐκθέσεσι τῶν μελῶν τοιαῦτα κῶλα τιθέναι ὅμοια τοῖς ἑξῆς. εἶτα μεταβὰς εἰς ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἐνήλλαξεν αὖθις. καὶ εἰσὶ κῶλα ἀναπαιστικὰ θ′ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἑπτὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ η′ μονόμετρον, ὃ καὶ παρατέλευτον ὀνομάζεται· ἔθος γάρ ἐστι ἐν ταῖς ἐκθέσεσι τῶν μελῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὸ παρατέλευτον κῶλον τιθέναι, τὸ δὲ θ′ κῶλόν ἐστιν ἐφθημιμερές, ὃ καλεῖται παροιμιακόν· σύνηθες γὰρ τὸ ἐφθημιμερὲς ἐν τῶι τέλει κεῖσθαι τοῦ μέλους.

824. μονόμετρον.

832-833. τροχαικὰ β′.

834. ἰαμβικὸς τρίμετρος.

835-836. τροχαικὰ β′.

842. ἰαμβικὸς τρίμετρος.

847. τροχαικόν.

848. ἰαμβικὸς τρίμετρος.

849-851. † ἰαμβικὰ δ′, τὸ δὲ ε′ τροχαικόν.

851. τροχαικόν.

854-860. † ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ε′, τὸ δὲ ς′ ἀναπαιστικὸν ἐφθημιμερές.

857. ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον.

860. ἀναπαιστικόν.

861-870. ἀναπαιστικὰ θ′.

869. παρατέλευτον μονόμετρον.

871-874. † τὸ α′ ἰαμβικὸν μονόμετρον, τὰ δὲ δ′ ἀναπαιστικά.

875-878. τροχαικὰ τὰ γ′, τὸ δὲ β′ ἰαμβικόν.

875. τροχαικὸν περιοδικόν.

876. ἰαμβικὸς τρίμετρος.

879-880. † ἀναπαιστικὰ τὰ β′.

881. τροχαικὸν περιοδικόν.

882. ἰαμβικὸς τρίμετρος.

883. περιοδικόν.

884. τροχαικὸν ἰθυφαλλικόν.

884. τοῦτο οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν ἑτέροις παλαιοῖς βιβλίοις.

885-886. ἀναπαιστικὰ β′.

887-890. † ἀντισπαστικὰ γ′.

891-894. † ἀντισπαστικὰ ἡμιόλια β′ καὶ ἓν μονόμετρον.

894. μονόμετρον.

895-896. † ἀντισπαστικὰ γ′.

897-899. † ὅμοια ἡμιόλια γ'.
900-905. † ὅμοια ἐφθημιμερῆ δ' καὶ ἡμιόλια β' καὶ πενθημιμερὲς ἕν.
906-908. † ὅμοια. τὸ α' τ[ρίμετρον] βραχυκατά[ληκτον], τὸ β' ἐφθημιμερές, καὶ τὸ γ' ἡ[μιόλιον].
911-914. † ὅμοια τρίμετρα β[ραχυ]κατά[ληκτα] β' καὶ [ἐφ]θη[μιμερῆ] β'.
915-921. † ὅμοια δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα ἕξ, τὸ δὲ ζ' ἐφθημιμερές.
922-925. † ὅμοια ἐφθημιμερῆ ε'.
926-931. † τὰ μὲν β' ὅμοια δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ γ' χοριαμβικὸν ἐφθημιμερές, τὰ ἑξῆς β' τρίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα ὅμοια, τὸ δὲ ϛ' τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν.
932-940. † ἀντισπαστικὰ θ' ἡμιόλια.
941-946. † ὅμοια ϛ'. τὸ α' τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν, τὰ δὲ ε' ἐφθημιμερῆ.
947-950. † ὅμοια δ'. τὸ α' τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν, τὸ δὲ γ' ἐφθημιμερῆ.
951-960. † ὅμοια δέκα. τὰ μὲν δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ πενθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἡμιόλια.
961-965. † τὰ ἑξῆς ταῦτα ἰαμβικὰ ε', τὸ α' τρίμετρον, τὰ δὲ γ' δίμετρα· τὰ γὰρ β' πρόσωπα ἓν ποιοῦσι κῶλον, τὸ δὲ ε' ἐφθημιμερές.
966. μονόμετρον.
967. δίμετρον.
968-970. † ἰαμβικοὶ τρεῖς δίμετροι.
972. † τροχαικοὶ β' ἰθυφαλλικοί.
973-974. † ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα γ'.
975-976. † τροχαικὰ β'.
976. † ἐφθημιμερές.
977. † ἰαμβικὸς τρίμετρος ἐν ἄλλωι.
978-979. τροχαικὰ γ'.
978. δίμετρον.
979. δίμετρον.
980-985. † ἰαμβικὰ ζ'.
980. δίμετρον.
981. δίμετρον.
982. τρίμετρος.
984. δίμετρον.
986-988. ὅμοια τοῖς ἄνω.
989-997. [ἰα]μβικὰ θ' [δίμε]τρα.
990. δίμετρον.
991. δίμετρον.
992. δίμετρον.
994. δίμετρον.

994. δίμετρον.
995-996. δίμετρον.
997. δίμετρον.
998-1004. κῶλα ιβ'. τὰ πρῶτα ἰαμβικὴ βάσις, τὰ δὲ β' τροχαικὰ ἐφθημιμερῆ.
1005-1053. † εἴσθεσις διπλῆς [μονοστροφικῆς καὶ συν]εχοῦς [οἱ δὲ στίχοι] εἰσὶ ἴ[αμβικ]οὶ τρίμετροι [μθ'].
1006. πόλεως] συνίζησις.
1054-1078. † διπλῆ ἐν ἐκθέσει τοῦ δράματος ἀμοιβαίας τὰς περιόδους ἔχουσα. τὰ δὲ κῶλά εἰσιν ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ μονόμετρα κς' ὧν τὸ κε' μονόμετρον παρατέλευτον ὀνομαζόμενον, τὸ δὲ κς' τὸ κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα ἐφθημιμερὲς καὶ ἑξῆς ἡ κορωνὶς ἡ τὸ δρᾶμα ἀποπερατοῦσα.
1054. φεῦ φεῦ] μονόμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον.
1061. μονόμετρον.
1076. μὴ ἀνα-] συνίζησις.
1077. παρατέλευτον μονόμετρον.

Scholia Proto-Tricliniana in Aeschyli Persas

1-158. † τάδε μὲν περσῶν· ἡ εἴσθεσις τοῦ δράματος ἐκ μονοστροφικῆς ἐστι περιόδου· τὰ δὲ κῶλά εἰσιν ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ μονόμετρα ξε'. εἶτα εἰς ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν μεταβὰς τὸ μέτρον τοῦτο ἐνήλλαξε. καί εἰσι τὰ ἑξῆς κῶλα ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικὰ καὶ ἀκατάληκτα καὶ μονόμετρα μζ' ὧν τὸ τελευταῖον τροχαικὸν ἰθυφαλλικὸν διὰ (καὶ G) τὰ ἑξῆς. εἶτα εἰς ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν μεταβὰς καὶ ἑτέρωι μέτρωι ἐχρήσατο. καί εἰσι τὰ ἑξῆς κῶλα τροχαικὰ δίμετρα καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ πενθημιμερῆ καὶ βραχυκατάληκτα ἤτοι ἰθυφαλλικὰ καὶ ἀκατάληκτα κς' ὧν τὸ παρατέλευτον ἀναπαιστικὸν διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς πενθημιμερές· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἰθυφαλλικόν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ β' κῶλον καὶ τὸ η' μόριόν τι κώλου τὸ ὀά (τὸ ὅλον G) τίθεται. εἶτα μεταβὰς εἰς ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ α' αὖθις ἔλαβε μέτρον καί εἰσι τὰ ἑξῆς κῶλα ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικὰ καὶ μονόμετρα ιε'. ἐν ἐκθέσει δὲ στίχοι τροχαικοὶ τετράμετροι καταληκτικοὶ δ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἑξῆς.
6. δαρειογενής] μονόμετρον.
11. θυμὸς ἔσωθεν] μονόμετρον.
23. ταγοὶ περσῶν] μονόμετρον.
30. καὶ μασίστρης] μονόμετρον.
31. φαρανδάκης] μονόμετρον.

50. (δου)λει(ον)] κοινή.
52. καὶ] κοινή.
57. ἀσίας ἕπεται] μονόμετρον.
60. οἴχεται ἄνδρων] μονόμετρον.
64-114. κῶλα ξε'.
65. † ἀναπαιστικὰ αὖθις ἕτερα κῶλα μζ'.
69. πορθμὸν ἀμείψας] μονόμετρον.
73. θούριος ἄρχων] μονόμετρον.
76. ἔκ τε θαλάσσης] μονόμετρον.
79. στυφέλοις ἐφέταις] μονόμετρον.
80. ἰσοθέος] συνίζησις.
93. θεοῦ] συνίζησις.
114. κῶλα μζ'.
114. λαοπόροις τε μηχαναῖς] τροχαικὸν (-α F) διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς.
115-139. † τροχαικὰ κῶλα κς'.
135-139. † ἰθυφαλλικὰ ς'.
138. ἀναπαιστικὸν διὰ τὰ ἑξῆς.
139. κῶλα κς'.
140-154. † ἀναπαιστικὰ κῶλα ιε'.
141. μονόμετρον.
146. γένος ἁμέτερον] μονόμετρον.
147. μονόμετρον.
151. βασιλέως] συνίζησις.
154. † κῶλα ιε'.
155-158. στίχοι τροχαικοὶ τετράμετροι δ'.
157. θεοῦ[1]] συνίζησις.
157. θεοῦ[2]] συνίζησις.
159-175. † ἡ εἴσθεσις μονοστροφικῆς περιόδου, εἰ δὲ βούλει, (περιόδου ἢ G) διπλῆς μερικῆς. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶ τροχαικοὶ τετράμετροι καταληκτικοὶ ιζ'.
175. στίχοι ιζ'.
176-214. † ἡ εἴσθεσις μονοστροφικῆς περιόδου. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι λθ' ὧν τελευταῖος σωθεὶς δ' ὁμοίως τῆσδε κοιρανεῖ χθονός.
214. στίχοι λθ'.
215-248. † ἡ εἴσθεσις διπλῆς μερικῆς. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶ τροχαικοὶ τετράμετροι καταληκτικοὶ λδ' ὧν τελευταῖος καὶ φέρει σαφές τι πρᾶγος ἐσθλὸν ἢ κακὸν κλύειν.
248. στίχοι λδ'.
249-289. † εἴσθεσις ἑτέρα διπλῆς μερικῆς στίχων καὶ κώλων μα'. εἰσὶ

δὲ οἱ μὲν στίχοι τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι, τὰ δὲ κῶλα τοῦ χοροῦ ἀντισπαστικά.

256-259. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα δ', τὰ μὲν γ' ἡμιόλια, τὸ δὲ δ' πενθημιμερές. ἔοικε δὲ στροφῆι.

260-261. ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι β'.

262-265. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα δ' ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἔοικε δὲ ἀντιστροφῆι.

266-267. ἰαμβικοὶ β' στίχοι.

268-271. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα δ', τὸ α' ἡμιόλιον, τὸ β' καὶ γ' δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ δ' ἐφθημιμερές. ἔοικε δὲ ἑτέραι στροφῆι.

272-273. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι β'.

274-277. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα δ' ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἔοικε δὲ ἀντιστρόφωι.

278-279. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι β'.

280-283. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα δ', τὸ α' ἡμιόλιον, τὸ β' καὶ γ' δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ δ' ἐφθημιμερές. ἔοικε δὲ ἑτέραι στροφῆι.

284-285. ἰαμβικοὶ στίχοι β'.

286-289. † ἀντισπαστικὰ κῶλα δ' ὅμοια τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἔοικε δὲ ἀντιστροφῆι.

290-531. † εἴσθεσις διπλῆς καθόλου ἐν μονοστροφικαῖς περιόδοις. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι σμβ' ὧν τελευταῖος μή καί τι πρὸς κακοῖσι πρόσθηται κακόν.

531. στίχοι σμβ'.

532-597. † ὦ ζεῦ βασιλεῦ· ὁ παρὼν χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ κώλων ξς' ὧν τὰ μὲν ις' εἰσὶν ἀναπαιστικά, τὸ γ' καὶ τὸ η' μονόμετρα, τὰ λοιπὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ ις' ἐφθημιμερές. εἶτα εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβὰς ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἐνήλλαξε. καί εἰσι τὰ ἑξῆς κῶλα χοριαμβικὰ λς' ὧν τὰ μέν εἰσὶ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἡμιόλια, τὰ δὲ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα. εἶτα πάλιν ἐνήλλαξε τὸ μέτρον καὶ εἰσι τὰ ἑξῆς κῶλα χοριαμβικὰ ιδ' ἃ καλεῖται προσοδιακὰ διὰ τὸ ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ' ἐλάσσονος συγκεῖσθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δ' δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς γ' δίμετρα καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὰ τούτων ἑξῆς δ' δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα ὅμοια τοῖς πρώτοις, τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς γ' ἐφθημιμερῆ πάλιν ὧν τελευταῖον ναῦς ἔχει τὰ περσῶν.

534. μονόμετρον.

539. δάκρυσι κόλπους] μονόμετρον.

542. (ποθέου)σαι] κοινή.

547. ις'.

548-583. χοριαμβικὰ κῶλα λς'.

548-551. δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα δ'.
552. τρίμετρον (-α F) βραχυκατάληκτον (-α F).
553-557. ἐφθημιμερῆ ε'.
558. δίμετρον (-α F) ἀκατάληκτον (-α F).
559. τρίμετρον (-α F) βραχυκατάληκτον (-α F).
560-561. δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα β'.
562. τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον.
563-570. δίμετρα καταληκτικὰ η' ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ.
568. † τὸ φεῦ καὶ τὸ ἠέ καὶ τὸ όά ἰδίως τίθει ἐκτὸς τῶν κώλων.
571-573. ἰωνικὰ ἡμιόλια β', τὸ δὲ γ' χοριαμβικόν.
574-575. ἐφθημιμερῆ β'.
576. προσοδιακὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον.
577-579. ἐφθημιμερῆ γ'.
580-581. ἡμιόλια β'.
582-583. ἐφθημιμερῆ β'.
583. κῶλα λϛ'.
584-597. † χοριαμβικὰ προσοδιακὰ καλούμενα ιδ'.
584-587. δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα δ'.
588-590. ἐφθημιμερῆ γ'.
591-594. δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα δ'.
595-597. ἐφθημιμερῆ γ'.
597. κῶλα ιδ'.
598-622. † ἡ μονοστροφικὴ αὕτη περίοδος στίχων ἐστὶν ἰαμβικῶν τριμέτρων ἀκαταλήκτων κε' ὧν τελευταῖος τιμὰς προπέμψω νερτέροις θεοῖς.
622. στίχοι κε'.
623-680. † βασίλεια γύναι· ὁ παρὼν χορὸς συνέστηκεν ἐκ κώλων νη' ὧν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ι' εἰσὶν ἀναπαιστικά, τὸ μὲν δ' μονόμετρον. τὸ ε' καὶ ι' ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων μεταβὰς εἰς ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν ἐξήλλαξε καὶ τὸ μέτρον καί εἰσι <τὰ ἑξῆς> κῶλα ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ πενθημιμερῆ καὶ μονόμετρα μη' ὧν τελευταῖον νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες.
626. μονόμετρον.
632. κῶλα ι'.
632. <οἱ> γρ<άφοντες> πέρσαις εἴποι ἀγνοοῦσιν (ἀγνοεῖ F) τὸ μέτρον.
651. (δα)ρεῖ(ον)] κοινή.
663. (δα)ρει(ᾶν)] κοινή.
681-758. † εἴσθεσις διπλῆς καθόλου ἧς προτίθενται στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ ιγ'.

ἑξῆς δὲ τούτων κῶλα τοῦ χοροῦ ἀναπαιστικὰ γ' ὧν τὰ β' δίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ γ' δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερές, ὃ καλεῖται παροιμιακόν. ἑξῆς τούτων στίχοι τροχαικοὶ τετράμετροι καταληκτικοὶ γ'. ἑξῆς τούτων κῶλα ὅμοια τοῖς ἄνω ἀναπαιστικὰ γ'. ἑξῆς δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἡ τελεία διπλῆ. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶ τροχαικοὶ τετράμετροι καταληκτικοὶ νϛ' ὧν τελευταῖος τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στράτευμ' ἐφ' ἑλλάδα.

693. στίχοι ιγ'.

694-696. ἀναπαιστικὰ γ'.

697-699. τροχαικοὶ τετράμετροι γ'.

700-702. ἀναπαιστικὰ γ'.

703-758. οἱ ἑξῆς τροχαικοὶ τετράμετροι νϛ'.

758. στίχοι νϛ'.

759-851. † διπλῆ ἑτέρα ἐχομένη τῆς προτέρας διπλῆς. οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἰαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι ϛγ' ὧν τελευταῖος οὐ γὰρ τὰ φίλτατ' ἐν κακοῖς προδώσομεν.

851. στίχοι ϛγ'.

852-907. † ὢ πόποι· ὁ παρὼν χορὸς συνίσταται ἐκ κώλων νζ' ὧν τὰ μέν εἰσιν ἀναπαιστικὰ μονόμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ πενθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἐφθημιμερῆ ἤτοι δίμετρα καταληκτικά ἃ καλεῖται παροιμιακά, τὰ δέ εἰσιν ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὰ δὲ τροχαικὰ ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ ἰθυφαλλικά, ὧν τελευταῖον πλαγαῖσι ποντίαισιν ὅπερ ἰαμβικόν ἐστιν ἐφθημιμερές.

856. ἰαμβικόν.

865. μονόμετρον.

866. τροχαικόν.

870. τροχαικόν.

875. τροχαικόν.

881. τροχαικόν.

885. τροχαικόν.

890. τροχαικόν.

895. ἰαμβικόν.

908-1077. † εἴσθεσις διπλῆς ἐν ἐκθέσει τοῦ δράματος. τὰ δὲ κῶλα τὰ μέν εἰσιν ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ πενθημιμερῆ καὶ βραχυκατάληκτα δίμετρα καὶ μονόμετρα, τὰ δὲ τροχαικὰ ἐφθημιμερῆ καὶ πενθημιμερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ τρίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα καὶ μονόμετρα ὧν τελευταῖον καὶ παντὸς τοῦ δράματος πέμψω σε δυσθρόοις γόοις ὅπερ ἰαμβικόν ἐστι δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον καὶ ἑξῆς τούτου ἡ κορωνὶς ἡ τὸ δρᾶμα ἀποπερατοῦσα.

916. μονόμετρον.

917. † οἱ τὸ μοῖρα ποιοῦντες δοτικὴν ἀγνοοῦσι τὸ μέτρον· ἀλλ' ἔστω ζεῦ καὶ ἔχει ὀρθῶς τὸ μοῖρα εὐθεῖα. εὕρηται γὰρ ἔν τι<νι> παλαιῶι οὕτως.

920. μονόμετρον.

928-930. † τὰ β' ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα, τὸ γ' μονόμετρον, τὸ δὲ δ' πενθημιμερὲς ἐκ προκελευσματικοῦ.

930. μονόμετρον.

931-934. † τὰ β' ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὸ δὲ γ' δίμετρον ἐκ προκελευσματικοῦ.

935-940. † τὸ α' ἐφθημιμερές, τὰ ς' δὲ μονόμετρα ἔχοντα καὶ πόδας προκελευσματικούς.

941-943. † τὸ α' δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, μονόμετρα δὲ τὰ γ', τὸ δ' δὲ ἐκ προκελευσματικοῦ.

945. μονόμετρον.

955-961. † τροχαικὰ ς' ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὸ δὲ ζ' πενθημιμερές.

962-965. † ἀναπαιστικὰ δ', τὰ γ' δίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα, τὸ δ' πενθημιμερές.

966-971. † τροχαικὰ ζ', τὰ μὲν δ' ἐφθημιμερῆ, τὰ β' δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ ζ' πενθημιμερές.

974. πενθημιμερὲς ἰαμβικόν.

975-977. † ἀναπαιστικὰ δ', τὸ α' ἐφθημιμερές, τὰ γ' δίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα.

978-985. † ἀναπαιστικὰ ἐφθημιμερῆ ζ'.

987-991. † ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα ε'.

992-999. † ἀναπαιστικὰ ζ', τὸ β' δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὸ ε' μονόμετρον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐφθημιμερῆ.

996. μονόμετρον.

1000-1003. † ἰαμβικὰ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα γ', τὸ δὲ δ' δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον.

1004-1006. † ἰαμβικὰ δ', τὰ γ' δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ δ' ἐφθημιμερές.

1008. ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον.

1009-1013. † κῶλα ε', τὸ α' καὶ γ' καὶ δ' ἰαμβικὰ ἐφθημιμερῆ περιοδικὰ καλούμενα διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἰαμβικῆς καὶ τροχαικῆς συζυγίας συγκεῖσθαι, τὸ β' ἰαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὸ δὲ πέμπτον ἀναπαιστικὸν ὅμοιον.

1014-1016. † ἰαμβικὰ δ', τὸ μὲν α' ἐφθημιμερές, τὰ δὲ γ' πενθημιμερῆ.

1017. ἴαμβος τρίμετρος.

1019. μονόμετρον.

1020. δίμετρον.

1021. μονόμετρον.
1021-1022. ἐφθημιμερές.
1023-1024. † τροχαικὰ ἰθυφαλλικὰ β′.
1030. ἴαμβος τρίμετρος.
1031. μονόμετρον.
1032. δίμετρον.
1034-1037. † ἀναπαιστικὰ πενθημιμερῆ γ′, τὸ δὲ δ′ ἰαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον.
1038. ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον.
1039-1042. † ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα δ′.
1043. † ἰαμβικὸν μονόμετρον ἐκ τριβράχεων.
1044-1045. † δίμετρα ὅμοια β′.
1046. † ἴαμβος τρίμετρος.
1047-1050. † ἰαμβικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα δ′.
1051-1053. † ἰαμβικὰ γ′, τὸ α′ μονόμετρον ἐκ τριβράχεων τὸ β′ δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὸ δὲ γ′ ἐφθημιμερές.
1054. ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον.
1055. μονόμετρον.
1056. † οἱ γράφοντες ὕπερθεν ἀμαθεῖς τῶν μέτρων (τῷ μέτρῳ F).
1056. τρίμετρον.
1058. τὰ β′ κῶλα ἕν.
1058-1059. τροχαικὸν δίμετρον.
1060. ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον.
1061. μονόμετρον.
1062. τρίμετρον.
1063. δίμετρον.
1064-1065. τροχαικόν.
1066-1067. δίμετρον ἰαμβικόν.
1068. μονόμετρον.
1070. τροχαικόν.
1071-1073. ἐφθημιμερῆ γ′ (δ′ F).
1074. μονόμετρον.
1074. τροχαικόν.
1075. μονόμετρον.
1075. τροχαικὸν μονόμετρον.
1076. μονόμετρον.
1076. τροχαικὸν μονόμετρον.
1077. ἰαμβικὸν δίμετρον.

APPENDIX II

THE TRICLINIAN PREFATORY TREATISES

Appendix II gives the text of the Triclinian prefatory treatises as they are presented in the two extant autograph copies *Angel. gr.* 14 (A) and *Neap.* II.F.31 (N).

In this publication of the texts I have followed the orthography of the MSS. The lacunae in N have not been noted in the apparatus.

Earlier publications of these texts can be found in Aubreton 30 ff. and in Abel's edition of the Thomano-Triclinian scholia on Pindar; neither of these publications has been based on the extant autograph copies.

Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ἐννέα μέτρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου Ἡφαιστίωνος

1. Τὸ ἰαμβικὸν μέτρον δέχεται κατὰ μὲν τὰς περιττὰς χώρας, τουτέστι πρώτην, τρίτην, πέμπτην ἴαμβον (⏑ –), τρίβραχυν (⏑ ⏑ ⏑), σπονδεῖον (– –), δάκτυλον (– ⏑ ⏑), ἀνάπαιστον (⏑ ⏑ –)· κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀρτίους, τουτέστι δευτέραν, τετάρτην, ἕκτην ἴαμβον, τρίβραχυν, ἀνάπαιστον. τοῦτον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς κωμικοῖς συνεχῶς, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἰαμβοποιοῖς καὶ τραγικοῖς σπανιώτερον. ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἀκατάληκτόν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῆς τελευταίας τὸν ἴαμβον δέχεται μόνον ἢ πυρρίχιον (⏑ ⏑) διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον, ὅτε δὲ καταληκτικόν, τὸν ἴαμβον παραλήγοντα ἢ σπανίως τρίβραχυν, ὥστε γίνεσθαι τὴν κατακλεῖδα ἤτοι ἀμφίβραχυν (⏑ – ⏑) ἢ βακχεῖον (⏑ – –).

2. Τὸ τροχαικὸν κατὰ μὲν τὰς περιττὰς χώρας δέχεται τροχαῖον (– ⏑), τρίβραχυν (⏑ ⏑ ⏑), ἴαμβον (⏑ –) καὶ δάκτυλον (– ⏑ ⏑)· κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀρτίους, τούτους τε καὶ σπονδεῖον (– –) καὶ ἀνάπαιστον (⏑ ⏑ –). καταληκτικὸν δὲ ὅτε ἐστί, τὸν παραλήγοντα μάλιστα μὲν τροχαῖον (– ⏑) δέχεται, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τρίβραχυν. ἐὰν δὲ ἦι βραχυκατάληκτον, οὐ βούλεται τὸν παραλήγοντα τετράσημον ἔχειν.

3. Τὸ δακτυλικὸν δέχεται δακτύλους (– ⏑ ⏑) καὶ σπονδείους (– –) κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν πλὴν τῆς τελευταίας· ἐπὶ ταύτης δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀκατάλη-

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9. schema om. A 16. schema om. N 18. τετράσημον] τετράχρονον ut glossa sscr. AN

κτον εἴη, δάκτυλον (–⏑⏑) ἕξει ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον κρητικόν (–⏑–)· εἰ δὲ καταληκτικόν, τὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μεμειωμένα, ἤτοι συλλαβῆι ἢ δύο συλλαβαῖς· καὶ τὸ μὲν καλεῖται καταληκτικὸν εἰς συλλαβήν, τὸ δὲ καταληκτικὸν εἰς δισύλλαβον. τὰ δὲ αἰολικὰ καλούμενα τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἔχει πόδα πάντως ἕνα τῶν δισυλλάβων ἀδιάφορον ἤτοι σπονδεῖον ἢ ἴαμβον ἢ τροχαῖον ἢ πυρρίχιον, τοὺς ἐν μέσωι δακτύλους πάντας. ἔστι δέ τινα καὶ λογαοιδικὰ καλούμενα δακτυλικὰ ἅπερ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις χώραις δακτύλους ἔχει, τελευταίαν δὲ τροχαικὴν συζυγίαν. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄνω εἰρημένα κατὰ συζυγίαν μετρεῖται, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον κατὰ μονοποδίαν.

4. Τὸ ἀναπαιστικὸν κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν δέχεται σπονδεῖον (––), ἀνάπαιστον (⏑⏑–), σπανίως δὲ καὶ προκελευσματικόν (⏑⏑⏑⏑)· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς δραματοποιοῖς ἴαμβον (⏑–) καὶ δάκτυλον (–⏑⏑). εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποθέσεις ἓξ κατὰ συζυγίαν διαιρουμένου, ὑπερκατάληκτον εἰς δισύλλαβον, ὑπερκατάληκτον εἰς συλλαβήν, ἀκατάληκτον, καταληκτικὸν εἰς δισύλλαβον, καταληκτικὸν εἰς συλλαβήν, βραχυκατάληκτον. ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν τῶι δακτυλικῶι ἦν τι λογαοιδικόν οὕτω κἀν τοῖς ἀναπαιστικοῖς τὸ εἰς βακχεῖον (⏑––) περαιούμενον οὗ ἐστιν ἐπισημότατον τὸ μετὰ τέσσαρας πόδας αὐτὸν ἔχον τὸν βακχεῖον (⏑––) ὧν ὁ πρῶτος γίνεται καὶ σπονδεῖος καὶ ἴαμβος.

5. Τὸ χοριαμβικὸν (–⏑⏑–) συντίθεται μὲν καὶ καθαρόν, συντίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπίμικτον πρὸς τὰς ἰαμβικάς (⏑–⏑–)· ὡς ἐπίπαν δὲ ὅτε καταληκτικόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν ἰαμβικὴν κατακλεῖδα περαιοῦται τουτέστιν εἰς ἀμφίβραχυν (⏑–⏑) ἢ βακχεῖον (⏑––) διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. περαιοῦται μὲν γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν, τὸν δάκτυλον ἢ κρητικόν (–⏑–)· ἀλλὰ τῶι ταῦτα συνεχέστερα εἶναι ἀπρεπέστερα ἐστιν.

6. Τὸ ἀντισπαστικὸν (⏑––⏑) τὴν μὲν πρώτην συζυγίαν ἔχει τρεπομένην κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πόδα εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα τοῦ δισυλλάβου σχήματα, τὰς δ' ἐν μέσωι καθαρὰς ἀντισπαστικάς, τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν, ὁπότε ἐστιν ἀκατάληκτον, ἰαμβικήν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀναμίσγηται ταῖς ἰαμβικαῖς οὐ μόνον τὴν πρώτην συζυγίαν ἔχει τρεπομένην κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πόδα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ταῖς ἰαμβικαῖς ἑπομένην. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ λύεται ὁ πρότερος πούς εἰς τρίβραχυν.

7. Τὸ ἀπὸ μείζονος ἰωνικὸν (––⏑⏑) συντίθεται μὲν καὶ καθαρόν, συντίθεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τροχαικὰς (–⏑–⏑) ἐπίμικτον· ὅτε μέντοι ἀκατάληκτόν ἐστι καθόλου σπανίως εἰς τὴν ἰωνικὴν περαιοῦται διὰ τὸ ἀπρεπῆ εἶναι τὴν ἰωνικὴν ἐπὶ τέλους οὖσαν.

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21. schema primum om. N 28. δὲ alterum om. A 31. schema om. N 39. τέσσαρα A schema om. A

8. Τὸ ἀπ' ἐλάσσονος ἰωνικὸν (⏑⏑––) συντίθεται μὲν καὶ καθαρόν, συντίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπίμικτον πρὸς τὰς τροχαικὰς (–⏑–⏑) διποδίας οὕτως ὥστε τὴν πρὸ τῆς τροχαικῆς ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι πεντάσημον, τουτέστι τρίτην παιωνικήν, καὶ τὴν τροχαικὴν ὁπόταν προτάττοιτο τῆς ἰωνικῆς γίνεσθαι ἑπτάσημον τροχαικὴν τὸν καλούμενον δεύτερον ἐπίτριτον (–⏑––)· ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ ἡ μὲν τρίτη παιωνικὴ συναίρεται εἰς παλιμβακχεῖον (––⏑), τῆς δὲ ἐπιφερομένης τροχαικῆς (–⏑) ὁ πρότερος λύεται εἰς τρίβραχυν. ἐμπίπτουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ μολοττοὶ (–––) ἐπὶ τῶν περιττῶν χωρῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀπ' ἐλάσσονος ἰωνικοῖς ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ μείζονος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρτίων.

9. Τὸ δὲ παιωνικὸν (–⏑⏑⏑) εἴδη μὲν ἔχει τρία, τό τε κρητικὸν (–⏑–) καὶ τὸ βακχειακὸν (⏑––) καὶ τὸ παλιμβακχειακόν (––⏑), ὃ καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειόν ἐστι πρὸς μελοποιίαν, τὸ δὲ κρητικὸν ἐπιτήδειον. δέχεται δὲ καὶ λύσεις τὰς εἰς τοὺς καλουμένους παίωνας· καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ποιητῶν κρητικόν. τοσαῦτα περὶ τῶν ἐννέα μέτρων τῶν μονοειδῶν καὶ ὁμοιοειδῶν· παντὸς δὲ μέτρου ἀδιάφορός ἐστιν ἡ τελευταία συλλαβή, ὥστε δύνασθαι εἶναι αὐτὴν καὶ βραχεῖαν καὶ μακρὰν καὶ πᾶν δὲ μέτρον εἰς τελείαν περαιοῦται λέξιν· ὅθεν ἐπιληπτά ἐστι τὰ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα.

Ἡμέτερον Δημητρίου τοῦ Τρικλινίου

Ἰστέον ὅτι πάντα τὰ μέτρα πλὴν τοῦ δακτυλικοῦ κατὰ διποδίαν μετρεῖται καὶ ἀνέρχεται μέχρι τοῦ πενταμέτρου. ἔστι δὴ μονόμετρον μὲν τὸ ἔχον πόδας δύο, δίμετρον τὸ ἔχον πόδας δ', τρίμετρον τὸ ἔχον ἕξ, τετράμετρον τὸ ἔχον η', πεντάμετρον τὸ ἔχον δέκα· καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ πρόεισι. παντὸς δὲ μέτρου πλὴν τοῦ δακτυλικοῦ ἀποθέσεις ἤτοι καταλήξεις εἰσὶ τέσσαρες· βραχυκατάληκτον, καταληκτικόν, ἀκατάληκτον καὶ ὑπερκατάληκτον. καὶ βραχυκατάληκτον μέν ἐστιν ὡς ἐν παραδείγματι ἐπὶ τοῦ μονομέτρου εἰπεῖν ὅπερ ποδὸς ὅλου δεῖται πρὸς ἀπαρτισμὸν οἷον τὸ φεῦ φεῦ ἢ τὸ ἰώ ἢ τὸ ἔα. ταῦτα γὰρ μονόμετρά ἐστι βραχυκατάληκτα διὰ τὸ ἔχειν μὲν τὸν ἕνα πόδα, τοῦ ἑτέρου δὲ λείπεσθαι. καταληκτικὸν δὲ τὸ δεόμενον μιᾶς συλλαβῆς προς ἀπαρτισμόν, οἷον τὸ ἰώ μοι ἢ τὸ ὤ μοι μοι. ταῦτα γὰρ μονόμετρά ἐστι καταληκτικὰ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ὅλον πόδα καὶ μίαν συλλαβὴν ἤτοι ἥμισυ ποδός, λείπεσθαι δὲ μιᾶς συλλαβῆς πρὸς ἀπαρτισμόν. ἀκατάληκτον δὲ ὅπερ ἀπηρτισμένους ἔχει τοὺς πόδας, οἷον τὸ ἰοὺ ἰού ἢ τὸ ἰὼ ἰώ ἢ τὸ φεῦ φεῦ ἰώ. ταῦτα γὰρ μονόμετρά ἐστιν ἀκατάληκτα διὰ τὸ ἀπηρτισμένους ἔχειν τοὺς πόδας καὶ μὴ ἐλλιπεῖς ὡς τὰ εἰρημένα. ὑπερκατάληκτον δὲ τὸ ἔχον μὲν ἀπηρτισμένους τοὺς

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64. schema primum om. N schema alterum om. A 68. schema primum om. A ἤδη A

πόδας, ἔχον δὲ καὶ συλλαβὴν μίαν πλείονα. εἴρηται δὲ πλὴν τοῦ δακτυλικοῦ ὅτι τοῦτο μόνον κατὰ μονοποδίαν μετρεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι τοὺς πόδας τρισυλλάβους· ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἀπηρτισμένους ἔχει τοὺς πόδας, λέγεται ἀκατάληκτον, ὅτε δὲ πλείονα συλλαβὴν ἔχει, λέγεται καταληκτικὸν εἰς συλλαβήν· ὅτε δὲ δύο, καταληκτικὸν εἰς δισύλλαβον· οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ ἐν τούτωι χώραν τὸ βραχυκατάληκτον ἢ τὸ ὑπερκατάληκτον ὡς οἱ μετρικοί φασιν. ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ διμέτρου καὶ τριμέτρου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συμβαίνει τὰ πάθη.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ σημείων τῆς κοινῆς συλλαβῆς τῶν ἐντὸς κειμένων τῆς βίβλου.

Ἐπειδήπερ οἱ πάλαι τὰ περὶ γραμματικῆς συνταξάμενοι σημεῖά τινα σοφῶς ἐπινοήσαντες παραδεδώκασιν ἐξ ὧν τήν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ποιότητα τῶν συλλαβῶν καὶ τὴν προφορὰν διαγινώσκειν ἔχοιμεν, συλλαβῶν δέ μοι καὶ οὐ στοιχείων εἴρηται, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν στοιχεῖα καθ' αὑτὰ κείμενα οὐδεμιᾶς τινος μετέχει δυνάμεως, συλληφθέντα δὲ καὶ οἷον ἑνωθέντα πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς ἀποτελέσαντα δυνάμεις τέ τινας καὶ ποιότητας ἔχει. ἐπενόησαν δὲ ἄλλα τε σημεῖα, τόνους φημὶ καὶ πνεύματα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἃ δὴ καὶ προσῳδίας ὠνόμασαν, ὡς πρὸς τὴν ᾠδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν τῶν συλλαβῶν συντελούσας· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ μακρᾶς μὲν σημεῖον τοδὶ –, τῆς δὲ βραχείας τουτὶ ⏑, τῆς δὲ κοινῆς οὐδαμῶς· ἐκείνων γὰρ καὶ ὅρους ἔθεντο, ταύτης δὲ οὔ· καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν· ἐπενοήθη ἔμοιγε τῆς κοινῆς σημεῖον διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην, καὶ οἶμαι καλὸν ἂν δόξαι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν· ἐπενοήθη δὲ διπλοῦν τὸ σημεῖον, διὰ τὸ διπλῆν τινα καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν τὴν δύναμιν· ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἀντὶ βραχείας ὀφείλει λαμβάνεσθαι σημεῖον ἐπενοήθη τοδὶ ⌊—— μακρὰ δηλονότι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἄνω βλέπον τὸ τοῦ ἰῶτα στοιχείου σημεῖον ἔχουσα, ὅτε δ' ἀντὶ μακρᾶς τοῦτο ἀντεστραμμένον οὑτωσὶ ——⌉, μακρὰ δηλονότι ἐν τῶι τέλει, κάτω νεῦον τὸ τοῦ ἰῶτα σημεῖον ἔχουσα. βέλτιον γὰρ ταῦτα τιθέναι καὶ διαγινώσκειν ποία ἐστιν ἡ κοινή, ἢ πλανωμένους τινὰς τὸ ποιεῖν γράφειν ποεῖν ἀμαθῶς καὶ φύσει βραχὺ φωνῆεν, ἔχον δὲ ἐπαγόμενα δύο σύμφωνα ὧν τὸ δεύτερον ἀμετάβολον ἀεὶ ἀντὶ μακροῦ λαμβάνειν ἢ καὶ τὸ φύσει βραχὺ φωνῆεν, ὅταν εἰς μέρος λόγου καταλήγηι, τὴν μακρὰν ἐπιτιθέντας ἀντὶ μακροῦ λαμβάνειν· ἄτοπον γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦτό γε. ταῦτά μοι πρὸς τοὺς συνετοὺς εἴρηται καὶ τῶν μέτρων ἔχοντας πεῖραν· εἰ δέ τινες εἶεν ὑπ' ἀμαθίας μεμφόμενοι, βραχὺς τούτων λόγος· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οἱ πάλαι τὰ κάλλιστ' ἐπινενοηκότες ταῦτα τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐκδεδώκασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς συνετοῖς, βραχὺν λόγον τῶν μὴ συνετῶν ἔχοντες ὡς καὶ πού τις ἔφη ἀείδω ξυνετοῖσι·

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124. πλανωμένου A

θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἂν φαίην τοὺς συνετοὺς ὃς ἂν ἐπινοήσας σοφόν τι τοῦτο λήθης βυθοῖς κατακρύψειε δεδιὼς ἴσως τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀσυνέτων μέμψιν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν δόξω τοὺς συνετούς, τὸ ἐπέλθον μοι κατὰ νοῦν τούτοις προὔθηκα, οὗτοι δ' ἂν εἰδεῖεν εἰ καλῶς ἔχει ἢ μή, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἅ μοι περὶ τῶν χορικῶν μελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τοῖς δράμασι φερομένων εἰδῶν ἐπινενόηται θείαι τινὶ καὶ ἀπορρήτωι ἐμπνεύσει πλεῖστα πονησαμένωι περί τε τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μέτρων καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν ἐξετέθη· ὡς ἂν οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἔχοιεν διαγινώσκειν τάς τε στροφὰς καὶ ἀντιστροφὰς τῶν μελῶν καὶ τὰς ἐπωδοὺς καὶ τίνος ἐστιν εἴδους καὶ μέτρου τῶν μελῶν ἕκαστον, καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ τῶν χορῶν ὁρᾶν μέλη τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, μηδὲν δὲ τούτων εἰδέναι ὥσπερ τινες μὴ γραμμάτων ἔχοντες πεῖραν καὶ βιβλίον ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀράμενοι βλέπουσι μὲν τύπους γραμμάτων, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐγκειμένων ἴσασιν.

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN OF THE SUPPOSED EARLY COMMENTARY ON THE EURIPIDEAN TRIAD AND OF THE FINAL COMMENTARY

I give here the text and colometry of Euripides, *Phoen.* 202-260 with metrical scholia from the final recension of the Euripidean triad in *Angel. gr.* 14 and from the Parma-Modena recension which is represented in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, *Fondo Parmense* 154 (P) and Modena *gr.* 93 (M). This is to illustrate the differences between the two recensions in connection with my discussion of the Parma-Modena scholia in chap. II. The reader is requested to bear in mind that the Modena *gr.* 93 only carries the metrical scholia without the poetic text. Cf. also plates 6 and 8.

Text and Colometry of Euripides, Phoenissae 202-260 in the Proto-Triclinian Recension in Parma 154.

τύριον οἶδμα λιποῦσ' ἔβαν ἀκροθίνια
λοξίαι φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου φοίβωι
δούλα μελάθρων ἵν' ὑπὸ δείρασι
νιφοβόλοις παρνασοῦ κατενάσθην
ἰόνιον κατὰ πόντον
ἐλάται πλεύσασα περιρρύτων ὕπερ
εὐκαρπίστων πεδίων σικελίας
ζεφύρου πνοαῖς ἱππεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῶι
κάλλιστον κελάδημα πόλεως
ἐκπροκριθεῖσ' ἐμᾶς καλλιστεύματα
λοξίαι καδμείων δ' ἔμολον γᾶν
κλεινῶν ἀγηνοριδῶν
ὁμογενεῖς ἐπὶ λαίου πεμφθεῖσα
ἔνθαδε πύργους ἴσα δ'
ἀγάλμασι χρυσοτεύκτοις.
φοίβωι λάτρις ἐγενόμαν ἔτι δὲ κασταλίας ὕδωρ
ἐπιμένει με κόμας ἐμᾶς δεῦσαι παρθένιον
χλιδὰν φοιβείαισι λατρείαις

ἰὼ λάμπουσα πέτρα πυρὸς
δικόρυφον σέλας ὑπὲρ ἄκρων
βακχείων διονύσου οἶνα θ'
ἃ καθαμέριον στάζεις τὸν πολύκαρπον
οἰνάνθας ἱεῖσα βότρυν ζάθεά τ' ἄντρα
δράκοντος οὔρειαί τε σκοπιαί θεῶν
νιφόβολον τ' ὄρος ἱερὸν
εἰλίσσων ἀθανάτας θεοῦ
χορὸς γενοίμαν ἄφοβος παρὰ μεσόμφαλα γύιαλα
φοίβου δίρκαν προλιποῦσα
νῦν δέ μοι πρὸ τειχέων θούριος μολὼν ἄρης
αἷμα δάιον φλέγει τᾶιδ' ὃ μὴ τύχοι πόλει
κοινὰ γὰρ φίλων ἄχη
κοινὰ δ' εἴ τι πείσεθ' ἑπτάπυργος ἥδε
γᾶ φοινίσσαι χώραι φεῦ φεῦ
κοινὸν αἷμα κοινὰ τέκεα τᾶς κερασφόρου
πέφυκεν ἰοῦς ὧν μέτεστί μοι πόνων
ἀμφὶ δὲ πόλιν νέφος ἀσπίδων
πυκνὸν φλέγει νυν σχῆμα φοινίου μάχης
ἂν ἄρης τάχ' οἴσεταί γε παισὶν οἰδίπου
φέρων πημονὰν ἐριννύων
ἄργος ὦ πελασγικὸν δειμαίνω
τὰν σὰν ἀλκὰν καὶ τὸ θεόθεν
οὐ γὰρ ἄδικον εἰς ἀγῶνα τόνδ'
ἔνοπλος ὁρμᾶι παῖς ὃς μετέρχεται δόμους.

THE METRICAL SCHOLIA ON EURIPIDES, PHOENISSAE 202-260 IN THE PROTO-TRICLINIAN RECENSION IN PARMA 154 AND MODENA GR. 93 (α U. 9. 22)

ὦ τέκνον εἴσβα δῶμα· τὸ τοῦ χοροῦ τοῦδε σύστημα ἐκ κώλων συνέστηκεν μγ'. τὸ α' τετράμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἐκ παιώνων <τετάρτου>, τρίτου, πρώτου καὶ πυρριχίου, τὸ β' τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου δευτέρου, ἰωνικοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος καὶ δισπονδείου, τὸ γ' τρίμετρον κατα-

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P = Parma, Bibl. Palat., Fondo Parm. 154 M = Modena, Bibl. Estense gr. *93* (α.U. 9.22)

1. uidetur M descriptionem uu. 193-201 omisisse ad quos uersus hoc lemma pertinet: l. om. P 2. μγ' M[pc] μβ' M[ac] ut uid.: om. P τετάρτου suppleui; de P non constat

ληκτικὸν ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου, παίωνος πρώτου καὶ δακτύλου, τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου, διτροχαίου καὶ βακχείου, τὸ ε' δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ παιώνων τετάρτου καὶ τρίτου, τὸ ϛ' ἀναπαιστικὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, τὸ ζ' τρίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ δισπονδείου, παίωνος τρίτου καὶ ἀναπαίστου, τὸ η' τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τρίτου, δισπονδείου, παίωνος τρίτου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ θ' τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου, παίωνος δευτέρου καὶ ἰάμβου, τὸ ι' τρίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ χοριάμβου, ἐπιτρίτου πρώτου καὶ δακτύλου, τὸ ια' τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου δευτέρου, ἰωνικοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος καὶ σπονδείου, τὸ ιβ' ἀναπαιστικὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, τὸ ιγ' τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ παιώνων τετάρτου καὶ τρίτου καὶ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου, τὸ ιδ' δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ δακτύλου, τὸ ιε' δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος δευτέρου καὶ ἐπιτρίτου δευτέρου, τὸ ιϛ' τετράμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος παιώνων τετάρτων δύο καὶ τρίτου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ ιζ' ὅμοιον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ παιώνων τετάρτου, τρίτου, δισπονδείου καὶ χορείου, τὸ ιη' δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου πρώτου καὶ χοριάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ ιθ' ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα, τὸ κ' τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου, προκελευσματικοῦ καὶ σπονδείου, τὸ κα' δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου, ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ' ἐλάσσονος καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ κβ' τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ διτροχαίου, ἐπιτρίτου πρώτου, χοριάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ κγ' τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτων τετάρτου καὶ δευτέρου, παίωνος τετάρτου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ κδ' τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ διιάμβου, ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου καὶ αὖθις διιάμβου, τὸ κε' δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου προκελευσματικοῦ καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ κϛ' ὅμοιον ἐκ δισπονδείου, παίωνος τρίτου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ κζ' τετράμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ διιάμβου, χοριάμβου, παίωνος τετάρτου καὶ τρίτου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ κη' δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ δισπονδείου καὶ παίωνος τρίτου, τὸ κθ' σύνθετον ἐκ διτροχαικῶν ἐφθημιμερῶν, τὸ λ' ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα, τὸ λα' ὅμοιον ἐφθημιμερὲς ἤτοι δίμετρον καταληκτικόν, τὸ λβ' ὅμοιον τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὸ λγ' δίμετρον ἐκ δύο σπονδείων, τὸ λδ' τροχαικὸν

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5. δακτύλου scripsi: πυρριχίου PM 9. ὑπερκατάληκτον scripsi : καταληκτικὸν PM 11. τετάρτου scripsi: τρίτου PM 13. τὸ ι'] κῶλον add. P 13. δακτύλου scripsi: διιάμβου PM 15-16. παιώνων τετάρτου scripsi: παιώνων πρώτου PM 17. δακτύλου scripsi: διιάμβου M, de P non constat 22. χοριάμβου add. P mg. 23. προκελευσματικοῦ scripsi: παρακελευσματικοῦ PM 30. κϛ'] ϛ P 31. παίωνος τρίτου] χοριάμβου M κζ'] κϛ' P 32. κη'] κζ' P 33. κθ'] κη' P 34. λ'] κθ' P λα'] λ' P 35. λβ'] λα' P 36. λγ'] λβ' P λδ'] λγ' P

τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον τοῦ τετάρτου ποδὸς χορείου ὄντος, τὸ λε′ ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὸ λϛ′ ἀναπαιστικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὸ λζ′ ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν, τὸ λη′ τροχαικὸν τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, τό λθ′ ὅμοιον δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, τὸ μ′ ὅμοιον τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, τὸ μα′ δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ δισπονδείου, παίωνος πρώτου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ μβ′ ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τὸ μγ′ ὅμοιον τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον.

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37. λε′] λδ′ P 38. λϛ′] λε′ P 39. λζ′] λϛ′ P λη′] λζ′ P 40. λθ′] λη′ P μ′] λθ′ P 41. μα′] μ′ P 42. μβ′] μα′ P 43. μγ′] μβ′ P

Text and Colometry of Euripides, Phoenissae 202-260 in the Final Triclinian Recension in Angel. Gr. 14.

τύριον οἶδμα λιποῦσ' ἔβαν
ἀκροθίνια λοξίαι
φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου
φοίβωι δούλα μελάθρων
ἵν' ὑπὸ δείρασι νιφοβόλοις
παρνασοῦ κατενάσθην
ἰόνιον κατὰ πόντον
ἐλάται πλευσάσα περιρρύτων ὕπερ
εὐκαρπίστων πεδίων σικελίας
ζεφύρου πνοαῖς ἱππεύσαντος
ἐν οὐρανῶι κάλλιστον κελάδημα
πόλεως ἐκπροκριθεῖσ' ἐμᾶς
καλλιστεύματα λοξίαι
καδμείων δ' ἔμολον γᾶν
κλεινῶν ἀγηνοριδᾶν
ὁμογενεῖς ἐπὶ λαίου
πεμφθεῖσ' ἐνθάδε πύργους
ἴσα δ' ἀγάλμασι χρυσεοτεύκτοις
φοίβωι λάτρις ἐγενόμαν
ἔτι δὲ κασταλίας ὕδωρ
ἐπιμένει με κόμας ἐμᾶς
δεῦσαι παρθένιον χλιδὰν
φοιβείαισι λατρείαις
ἰὼ λάμπουσα πέτρα πυρὸς
δικόρυφον σέλας ὑπὲρ ἄκρων
βακχειῶν διονύσου

οἶναθ' ἃ καθαμέριον στάζεις
τὸν πολύκαρπον
οἰνάνθας ἱεῖσα βότρυν
ζάθεά τ' ἄντρα δράκοντος
οὔρειαί τε σκοπιαὶ θεῶν
νιφόβολόν τ' ὄρος ἱερόν
ἑλίσσων ἀθανάτου θεοῦ
χορὸς γενοίμαν ἄφοβος
παρὰ μεσόμφαλα γύιαλα φοίβου
δίρκαν προλιποῦσα

στροφή νῦν δέ μοι πρὸ τειχέων
θούριος μολὼν ἄρης
αἷμα δάιον φλέγει
τᾶιδ' ὃ μὴ τύχοι πόλει
κοινὰ γὰρ φίλων ἄχη
κοινὰ δ' εἴ τι πείσεται
ἑπτάπυργος ἅδε γᾶ
φοινίσσαι χώραι φεῦ φεῦ
κοινὸν αἷμα κοινὰ τέκνα
τᾶς κερασφόρου πέφυκεν ἰοῦς
ὧν μέτεστί μοι πόνων.

ἀντιστρ. ἀμφὶ δὲ πόλιν νέφος
ἀσπίδων πυκνὸν φλέγει
σχῆμα φοινίου μάχης
ἂν ἄρης τάχ' εἴσεται
παισὶν οἰδίπου φέρων
πημονὰν ἐριννύων
ἄργος ὦ πελασγικὸν
δειμαίνω τὰν σὰν ἀλκὰν
τὸ θεόθεν τ' οὐ γὰρ ἄδικον
εἰς ἀγῶνα τόνδ' ἔνοπλος ὁρμᾶι
ὃς μετέρχεται δόμους.

The Metrical Scholia on Euripides, Phoenissae 202-260 in the Final Triclinian Recension in Angel. Gr. 14.

Ἡμέτερον· Τύριον οἶδμα· τὰ παρόντα εἴδη ἑτέρως εἰσὶν ἐσχηματισμένα· τὰ μὲν γάρ εἰσι μονοστροφικὰ καὶ μετρικὰ ἄτακτα καὶ συστηματικὰ ἐξ ἀνομοίων κατὰ περιορισμοὺς ἀνίσους, τὰ δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν μιᾶς στροφῆς. εἰσὶ γοῦν τῆς μονοστρόφου στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα λς'.

τὸ α′ ἀντισπαστικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐξ ἀντισπάστου πεντασυλλάβου διαλελυμένης τῆς πρώτης μακρᾶς εἰς δύο βραχείας καὶ διιάμβου· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου καὶ τρίτου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ᾽ ἐλάττονος καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ β′ ἀναπαιστικὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον· εἰ δὲ βούλει, περίοδος ἐκ τροχαικῆς καὶ ἰαμβικῆς συζυγίας. τὸ γ′ ἀντισπαστικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν φερεκράτειον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου καὶ βακχείου, τὸ δ′ ὅμοιον ἐκ δισπονδείου καὶ βακχείου, τὸ ε′ ἰωνικὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐλάττονος τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου, τρίτου καὶ ἰάμβου· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀναπαιστικὸν ἐφθημιμερὲς ἐκ χορείου καὶ δακτύλων, τὸ ς′ ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ διτροχαίου καὶ βακχείου, τὸ ζ′ ἰωνικὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐλάττονος δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου καὶ τρίτου ἢ ἰωνικοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον, τὸ η′ προσοδιακὸν τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος, χοριάμβου καὶ διιάμβου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον, τό θ′ ἀναπαιστικὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον τοῦ τετάρτου ποδὸς χορείου, τὸ ι′ ὅμοιον δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον τοῦ δευτέρου ποδὸς ἰάμβου, τὸ ια′ ἀντισπαστικὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ διιάμβου, ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου καὶ ἀμφιβράχεος, τὸ ιβ′ ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ μείζονος δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ, ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ ιγ′ ἀντισπαστικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου καὶ διιάμβου, τὸ ιδ′ ὅμοιον τῶι γ′, τὸ ιε′ ὅμοιον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου καὶ ἀναπαίστου· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἰαμβικὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, τοῦ τρίτου ποδὸς ἀναπαίστου. τὸ ις′ ὅμοιον τῶι α′, τὸ ιζ′ ὅμοιον τῶι γ′, τὸ ιη′ δακτυλικὸν τετράμετρον ἤτοι δίμοιρον ἔπους. ἔστι δὲ ἀκέφαλον διὰ τὸ ἐκ βραχείας ἄρχεσθαι. τὸ ιθ′ ἀναπαιστικὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, τὸ κ′ ὅμοιον τῶι α′, τὸ κα′ ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα, τὸ κβ′ ὅμοιον τῶι ιγ′, τὸ κγ′ ὅμοιον τῶι γ′, τὸ κδ′ ἀντισπαστικὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου πρώτου καὶ διιάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ κε′ ὅμοιον τῶι α′· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸν διίαμβον πεντασύλλαβον. τὸ κς′ ὅμοιον τῶι γ′, τὸ κζ′ προσοδιακὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου, χοριάμβου καὶ σπονδείου, τὸ κη′ χοριαμβικὸν μονόμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀναπαιστικὴ βάσις. τὸ κθ′ τροχαικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου καὶ διτροχαίου. τὸ λ′ ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ᾽ ἐλάττονος καὶ διτροχαίου. τὸ λα′ ὅμοιον ἐκ δισπονδείου καὶ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ᾽ ἐλάττονος κατὰ συνίζησιν. τὸ λβ′ χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον τοῦ δευτέρου ποδὸς πεντασυλλάβου χοριάμβου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον, τὸ λγ′ ὅμοιον τῶι λα′ ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου πρώτου καὶ ἰωνικοῦ κατὰ συνίζησιν, τὸ λδ′ χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ διιάμβου καὶ χοριάμβου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον, τὸ λε′ ὅμοιον τῶι ιη′, τὸ λς′ ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ μείζονος ἡμιόλιον ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ

καὶ τροχαίου· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀναπαιστικὸν πενθημιμερές. ταῦτά ἐστι τῆς μονοστρόφου στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα.

Τῆς δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν στροφῆς εἰσιν ια' καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς τοσαῦτα. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν θ' καὶ τὸ ια' τροχαικὰ δίμετρα καταληκτικὰ ἤτοι ἑφθημιμερῆ ἃ καλεῖται κυρίως εὐριπίδεια ἢ ληκύθια, τὸ δὲ ι' ὅμοιον τροχαικὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον. τὸ μέντοι τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς ἔνατον κῶλον οὐ καλῶς ἔχον διωρθώθη παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἔχει τὸν α' καὶ γ' πόδα χορείους. ἐχρήσατο δὲ τῶι τροχαικῶι ἐνταῦθα μέτρωι διὰ τὸ τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ σφοδρῶς ἐπελθεῖν ὁρμῆς καὶ συνεχέσι δρόμοις τὰ ἐκτὸς λήιζεσθαι· διὸ καὶ τὸ θούριος μολὼν ἄρης ἔφη. ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι τῶν συστημάτων τῆς μονοστρόφου στροφῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶι τέλει τῆς κατὰ σχέσιν στροφῆς παράγραφος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶι τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κορωνίς. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τῶι τοιούτωι χρῶνται οἱ ποιηταὶ σχηματισμῶι ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς, τὰ μὲν μονοστρόφως καὶ κατὰ συστήματα ἐκφέροντες, τὰ δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν ὅτε διηγηματικὸν ποιοῦσι τὸν λόγον. τούτου τοῦ σχήματός ἐστι παρὰ μὲν σοφοκλεῖ τὸ τελαμώνιε παῖ τῆς ἀμφιρύτου σαλαμῖνος ἐν αἴαντι, παρὰ δὲ αἰσχύλου ἐν μὲν ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ θήβας τὸ θρεῦμαι φοβερὰ μεγάλ' ἄχη, ἐν δ' ἀγαμέμνονι ὀνομαζομένωι δράματι αὐτοῦ τὸ δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ πριάμου μέγας ἀντίδικος μενέλαος ἄναξ.

A Note on Some Differences Between M and P in the analysis of the Phoenissae.

The differences noted in the apparatus to the Parma-Modena scholia lines 30 ff. deserve detailed explanation. The P scribe made a blunder when he wrote out the poetic text; he made the words νιφόβολόν τ' ὄρος ἱερὸν εἱλίσσων ἀθανάτας θεοῦ into one colon. Later he put a cross between ἱερὸν and εἱλίσσων to denote colon-end after ἱερὸν, in the way usual in Triclinian MSS (cf. above p. 166). Above this cross which has been written *in linea* and not slightly above the line as usual, there is a sign ꞓ. The text of the Modena scholia correctly numbers the cola κε' (this is the first part νιφόβολον ... ἱερὸν) and κϛ' (εἱλίσσων ... θεοῦ) but in this colon κϛ' M has χοριάμβου instead of the obviously correct παίωνος γ' in P. This colon κϛ' is distinguished in the scholia by the sign ꞓ which we have found in the poetic text, and then the following colon (κζ' in M) is called κϛ' in P, and the analysis of this colon κϛ' corresponds with the colon marked κϛ' in the poetic text of P. In the remaining cola the M scholia number each colon by a number higher by one than the corresponding colon in P. But there is no doubt that

the M scholia are correct; the colon numbered κε′ in P has to be divided into two cola since the sequence

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ – – – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ –

is impossible. The scribe of P must have noticed his mistake after he had written the numbers accompanying the cola in the poetic text, but before he wrote the scholia.

Later in the play we find another substantial difference between P and M.

In the scholia on lines 291-354 P correctly describes cola κζ′ and κη′ (lines 327-329 ἀποζυγείσας||): τὸ κζ′ ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον, τὸ κη′ τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἀντισπάστου, ἐπιτρίτου δευτέρου, διιάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς while M omits ἰαμβικὸν τρίμετρον τὸ κη′ so that the numbers of the cola in M are lower by one.

Thirdly I mention from the same play the differences in the scholia on lines 1019-1066. P has the numbers and text (lines 1038 ff.):

ιβ′ ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐποττότυζεν διαδοχαῖς ἀνὰ πτόλιν
ιγ′ βρονταὶ δὲ στεναγμὸς ἰαχά τ᾽ ἦν ὅμοιος

with the description τὸ ιβ′ δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ διτροχαίου διιάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ 𝈿 ὅμοιον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου καὶ διιάμβου, τὸ ιγ′ τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου, παίωνος πρώτου, ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου καὶ συλλαβῆς. While colon ιγ′ is correctly described, colon ιβ′ is seriously wrong. M gives τὸ ιβ′ δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐκ διτροχαίου, διιάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς, τὸ ιγ′ ὅμοιον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ παίωνος τετάρτου καὶ διιάμβου and continues: τὸ ιδ′ τρίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τετάρτου, παίωνος πρώτου, ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου καὶ συλλαβῆς. It will be seen that M's colon ιβ′ is identical with P's colon ιβ′, M's colon ιγ′ is identical with P's colon 𝈿 and M's colon ιδ′ is identical wish P's colon ιγ′. What has happened? In P a cross has been written above the line between -ζεν and δια- in colon ιβ′; and we see that διαδοχαῖς ἀνὰ πτόλιν corresponds to the description given in M of colon ιγ′. The mistake in P is of the same kind as the one that occurred in the text and scholia at *Phoen.* 202 ff. Two cola have been written together as one. The sign 𝈿 has been written above the cross. This must have been after the numbers in the margin opposite the cola in the poetic text in P were written but before the scholia were entered; the numbers in M are again higher by one. These dif-

ferences can only be explained on the hypothesis that the exemplar of M and P had not numbered the cola in the scholia; we must envisage a situation similar to that which existed in the common exemplar of GF and E in Aeschylus. Otherwise the different numbering in P and M in the scholia on *Phoen.* 291 ff. would be difficult to understand. But we should notice that in all three cases of differences between P and M the totals of the cola at the beginning of the scholia have been altered in M. At *Phoen.* 202 ff. M, as seen from the apparatus, *ante correctionem* had μβ′ and later changed this number into μγ′ (cf. plate 8); at *Phoen.* 291 ff. the number μζ′ has been written *in rasura*, the traces of the *a.c.* reading seem to reveal μη′. Finally at *Phoen.* 1019 ff. λβ′ again is written over an erasure; the *a.c.* reading has been completely erased but we may guess that it was λα′. These numbers before correction were copied from the exemplar of M; when M had finished his copying of the detailed analysis of the cola, he saw that the totals were wrong in comparison with the detailed analysis and he corrected them accordingly. If these totals in M^{ac} were copied directly from the exemplar, the mistakes in P at *Phoen.* 202 ff. colon κε′ and *Phoen.* 1019 ff. colon ιβ′ are explicable. The exemplar of M and P had also counted both these cola as one, instead of dividing each of them into two, as they have been divided in the analysis; thus there is a discrepancy between the totals and the detailed analysis that can only point in one direction. The exemplar of P and M was a *working exemplar* where the scribe—may we call him Triclinius?—still had not adjusted the text of his scholia to his colometrical changes.

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INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 209 (*olim* 161) (I): 129 n. 16, 160 n. 7, 172, 179 n. 42, 185 n. 49, 185, 191 n. 59, 194 n. 64, 201, 208 n. 86

Brussels, Bibl. Royale 18967: 92 n. 70

Cambridge, Univ. Libr.
- *Dd.* 11.70: 84
- *Nn.* 3.14: 69 n. 42, 225 n. 109
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- *Nn.* 3.17.1 (Lc): 136, 140 n. 3, 140 n. 34, 220 n. 104, 221, 225, 225 n. 109
- *Nn.* 3.17.2 (Lh): 127 n. 15, 140 n. 33, 140 n. 34, 197 n. 70

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek
- *GKS* 1980, 4°: 25 n. 58
- *GKS* 1982, 4°: 11 n. 25
- *GKS* 3549, 4°: 92 n. 70, 99 n. 80, 200 n. 74

Ferrara, Bibl. Com. Ariostea
- *cl.* II 116: 225 n. 109
- *cl.* II 155: 97 n. 78
- *cl.* II 178: 49

Florence, Bibl. Laur.
- *plut.* 6, 9: 51
- *plut.* 10, 15: 47
- *plut.* 31, 2 (X): 141 n. 36, 141 n. 37, 142 n. 38, 143, 186 n. 53
- *plut.* 31, 3 (B): 160 n. 7, 185 n. 49, 185 n. 50, 220
- *plut.* 31, 8 (F): 10 ff., *passim*
- *plut.* 31, 38 (Nd): 207 n. 85
- *plut.* 32, 2 (L): 6 n. 7, 7, 13, 20 n. 46, 44, 45, 59, 69 n. 42, 74 ff., 99 n. 80, 110 ff.
- *plut.* 32, 9 (M): 1 n. 3, *passim*
- *Conv. Soppr.* 8: 11 n. 25, 50 ff.
- *Conv. Soppr.* 11 (K): 130, 136, 167, 178, 190 f., 195 f., 197, 197 n. 70, 199 f., 221, 222, 225 f., 225 n. 109
- *Conv. Soppr.* 53: 92 n. 70
- *Conv. Soppr.* 94: 45 f., 50, 97 n. 78
- *Conv. Soppr.* 172: see Vat. *Pal. gr.* 287
- S. Marco 222 (Ma): 63

Heidelberg, Univ. Bibl. *Palat.* 18 (H): 113 f., 185 n. 49, 190, 215

Leiden, Bibl. Rijks-Univ. *Voss. gr.* Q.A. 4 (O): 51, 52 ff., 129 n. 17, 160 n. 7, 182, 190, 202 n. 75

London, Brit. Mus.
- Arundel 540: 23 n. 50
- Harley 5618: 158 n. 3

Madrid, Bibl. Nac.
- 4617 (Ha): 52, 199 n. 72, 202 n. 75, 212 n. 90
- 4677 (N): 202 n. 75, 212 n. 90

Manchester, John Rylands Libr. Hebrew 1689: 93

Milan, Bibl. Ambr.
- C 222 inf. (A): 172
- G 56 sup. (D): 185 n. 49, 216 n. 99, 219 n. 103
- I 8 sup.: 158 n. 3

Modena, Bibl. Est.
- α.Q.5.20: 83
- α.U.9.22: 81 ff., 100 n. 83
- III.E.11: 83

Moscow, Gosud. Istor. Muzei (*olim* Sinod. Bibl. *gr.* 508) (Δ): 129 n. 16, 136, 160 n. 7, 179 n. 41, 179 n. 42, 197 n. 68, 215, 220

Naples, Bibl. Naz.
- II.F.9: 92 n. 70, 225 n. 109
- II.F.31 (T): 15 ff., 34 ff., *passim*
- III.C.19: 48

Oxford, Bodl. Libr.
- Holkham *gr.* 88: 42, 49, 97 ff., 124 n. 10, 148
- Selden *supra* 18 (Ra): 165 n. 18, 192 n. 63

Oxford, New College 258: 43, 44, 99 n. 80, 200 n. 74

Paris, Bibl. Nat.
- *gr.* 1672: 49
- *gr.* 1941: 32 n. 71
- *gr.* 2450: 49
- *gr.* 2711: 6 n. 7, 46, 48 f., 92 n. 70, 97 n. 78, 133, 147 f., 164 n. 16
- *gr.* 2712: 92 n. 70
- *gr.* 2785 (C): 127 n. 15, 158 n. 5, 160 n. 7, 186 n. 53, 197 n. 70, 220 n. 105

gr. 2787 (P): 36 n. 87, 134 n. 20, 136, 143 n. 39, 172, 190, 209 n. 88
gr. 2789 (Pd): 36 n. 87
gr. 2807: 10 n. 19
gr. 2821: 49, 82, 91, 95 ff.
gr. 2832: 11 n. 25
gr. 2881: 180 n. 43
gr. 2884 (Q): 129 n. 16, 130, 136, 165 f., 167, 170 n. 27, 183 n. 53, 190 f., 191 n. 59, 197 n. 68, 197 n. 70, 199, 200, 202 n. 75, 220 n. 105, 221, 222, 225 n. 109, 228
Coislin 192: 96 n. 77, 101, 225 n. 109
Suppl. gr.
110 (Ξa): 225 n. 109
310: 84 n. 65
463: 20 n. 46, 28, 43, 74 n. 49, 94 n. 73, 98 ff., 120, 166 n. 20, 219
Parma, Bibl. Palat. Fondo Parmense 154: 49, 81 ff.,
Rome, Bibl. Angel. *gr.* 14: 16 n. 39, 38, 43 f., 46, 86 ff., 98 ff., 120, 132, 200 n. 74
Salamanca, Bibl. Univ.
M25: 32 n. 85
M40: 33
M48: 32 n. 74
M54: 32
M223: 33
M229: 32, 32 n. 74
M230: 33
M231: 33
M232: 32 n. 74
M233 (E): 25 ff., *passim*
M243: 32
M284: 32
Turin, Bibl. Naz. B.V. 34: 100 n. 83
Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat.
Palat. gr. 287 (+ Florence, Bibl. Laur. *Conv. Soppr.* 172) (Ga): 7, 10, 45, 50, 61, 74 n. 49, 77, 79 f., 134 n. 20
Urb. gr. 142: 46 ff., 97 n. 78
Vat. gr.
47: 36
51: 81 n. 56, 132
81: 51
175: 6 f.
507: 51
1294: 42, 46, 49, 97 ff., 124 n. 10
1332 (W): 202 n. 75
1333: 69 n. 42, 225 n. 109
1824 (Fb): 22 n. 49, 92 n. 70, 225 n. 109
2222 (Rb): 114, 122, 140 n. 33, 141 n. 37, 142 n. 38, 143, 166 n. 20
Venice, Bibl. Marc.
gr. 183: 11 n. 25
gr. 441: 7
gr. 446: 48
gr. 464: 11 n. 25, 43, 50, 52, 97 n. 78, 199 n. 72
gr. 467: 42 n. 70
gr. 468 (V): 145, 229 ff.
gr. 470: 6 n. 7, 48, 92 n. 70, 133, 147 f., 164 n. 16
gr. 483: 11 n. 25, 44, 50, 69 n. 42, 73, 104 n. 98, 158 n. 3, 164 n. 16, 180 n. 43
gr. 616 (G): 5 ff., *passim*
gr. 617: 9, 134 n. 20
Vienna, Österr. Nat. Bibl.
phil. gr. 163: 49
phil. gr. 197 (Ya): 141 n. 36, 141 n. 37, 142 n. 38, 143, 160 n. 7, 204 n. 80
phil. gr. 219: 47 ff.
phil. gr. 334 (Ta): 39 f., 55 n. 2
Uppsala, Univ. Bibl. *gr.* 15: 108 n. 106, 133 n. 19
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog Aug. Bibl. *Gud. gr.* 88 (Mc): 84 n. 65

INDEX LOCORUM

Aeschylus

Agamemnon
40-257: 229 ff.
48: 230
82: 230
91: 232
94: 232
103: 232 f.
104 ff.: 233 ff.
117: 234
119: 234
121: 235
125: 235
136: 235
140-159: 235 f.
140-145: 238
140: 236
141: 236
143: 236
145: 236 f.
160-257: 237
165: 237
170: 237
187: 237 f.
209: 238
212: 238
217: 238
1072 ff.: 146 ff.
1090-1092: 149 f.
1095-1097: 149 f.
1095: 122 n. 8
1103: 150
1110: 150
1114 ff.: 150 f.
1122: 151
1133: 151
1143: 152
1153: 152
1164: 174 n. 33
1540: 60 f.

Eumenides
222: 14
245: 14
299: 15
476: 15
837-846: 152
870-880: 152
916-926: 152
923-925: 153 f.
938-948: 154
939: 154
946: 154
980: 171, 208 n. 87

Persae
1-64: 199
1-7: 200
6: 199 f.
21: 200 f.
44: 200 f.
61: 207 n. 85
65-114: 201
68-69: 201 f.
82: 202
93-100: 202
100: 52 f., 202 n. 79, 205 n. 81
101-114: 202
111-114: 203
115-137: 203 f.
116: 204 n. 79
126: 205
140-154: 206
143: 206
145: 206
148: 206
152: 206
155-158: 206
256-259: 141 f.
256: 141 n. 37
262-265: 141 f.
264: 142
268-271: 142 f.
274-277: 142 f.
280-283: 143 f.
286-289: 143 f.
286: 143 f.
287: 144
532-597: 206 ff.
532-547: 206
532: 206
540: 206
548-567: 207 ff.
548: 207
549: 207

550: 207
552-557: 207 ff.
553: 207 ff.
554: 209
556: 171, 208
558: 208
559-561: 208
567: 209
571 f.: 210 f.
576: 211
579 f.: 211 f.
582-583: 212
583: 212
588: 213
597: 34 n. 83
598-628: 213
616: 34 n. 83
632-680: 213
632: 213 f.
634: 154 n. 41
635: 52, 214
637: 214 f.
640: 53
644: 215
647: 216
649: 216
664: 216
694-696: 67 n. 39
852-907: 216 ff.
857: 217
863: 217
865: 217
866-867: 216
875: 217
895: 217
908 ff.: 217 f.
915: 218
917: 217 f.
927: 218
929: 218 f.
932: 218 f.
933: 218 f.
959 ff.: 219 f.
962-965: 220
962: 53
963: 53
967: 220
979: 220
986: 220
992: 225 n. 109
999: 221, 225 n. 109
1000: 221
1001: 221
1008: 221
1009: 222
1011: 222
1013: 222, 225 n. 109
1014: 222
1017: 223
1020: 223
1021-1022: 223
1023: 224
1025: 223 f.
1029: 224
1030: 224
1037: 225
1053: 225
1056: 225 f.
1073: 55

Prometheus
21: 53
309: 53
350: 53
470: 53
682: 53
684: 53
741: 53
755: 53
781: 53
921: 53
925: 53
954: 53
998: 53, 54

Septem
78-180: 180 ff.
83 ff.: 181 f.
85: 182
90: 182
95 ff.: 183
100: 183 f.
102: 184
103: 52
105: 185
106: 185 f.
115: 52, 186
141: 186
149: 186
154: 187
155: 187
158: 187
159: 54, 187
161: 187
163: 187
166-180: 188

175: 188
203-244: 115
203-207: 115 ff.
203: 73, 117 f.
207: 73, 115
211-215: 116 f.
211: 118
213: 118
214: 118
219-222: 116, 119 f.
222: 119 f.
226-229: 119 f.
229: 119 f.
233-235: 120 f.
233: 121 f.
234: 121
235: 122 f.
239-241: 120 f.
239: 122
240: 121
241: 121, 122
287-368: 188 ff.
287 ff.: 188 f.
291: 54
293 f.: 189
297: 190 f.
299: 208 n. 87
301: 190
302: 190
305 f.: 189
310: 189 f.
318-320: 190
326: 192
328: 191
329-330: 191 f.
332: 192
338: 192
340 f.: 191
342: 192
345 f.: 193
363: 193
364: 194
367-368: 193 f.
417-421: 124 ff.
417: 126
420: 125, 125 n. 12
452-456: 124 ff.
454: 125 n. 12
455: 125
481-485: 126 ff.
481: 127, 128, 197 n. 70
482: 127
483: 129, 197 n. 70
484: 126, 129
521-525: 126 ff.
521: 52 f., 127
523: 54, 129
524: 129
563-567: 134 ff.
563-564: 135 f.
566: 136
626-630: 134 ff.
627-628: 135 f.
629: 136
686-711: 137
686-688: 137 ff.
686 f.: 17
692-694: 137 f.
692 f.: 17
692: 17, 52 f., 138
698-701: 139 f.
698 f.: 17
698: 139
700: 140
705-708: 139 f.
720-791: 194 ff.
720-733: 195
720: 195
721a: 195 f.
725: 196
733: 195, 196 f.
739-740: 197
754: 197 n. 70
756: 198
758: 197 n. 69
759: 197
765: 197
783 ff.: 198 f.
785: 19
822-870: 155 f.
822-847: 156 f., 206
824: 157
826: 158
828: 158
830-831: 157
832-847: 157, 159
835: 157
836: 157, 159
843: 159 f.
844: 157, 160
848-852: 157, 160
852: 160
853-860: 161 f.
853: 161
857: 161
858: 161

860: 161, 163
861-870: 163
869-870: 163
871-1005: 155
871-874: 164
875-884: 164
877: 164 f.
879-880: 164, 165
883: 164
884: 167
884a: 165 ff.
885-886: 167
887-910: 168 ff.
887-889: 169 f.
895 f.: 169
899: 169
903: 170
911-931: 170 ff.
915-917: 171
917: 154 n. 49, 171
919: 52 f., 170
923: 171
925: 172
928-931: 172
928: 76, 172
933: 173 f.
936: 173 f.
937-938: 173 f.
941-946: 174
941: 174 n. 32
944: 174
947-950: 174
947: 174 n. 33
949: 174
950: 174 f.
951-960: 175 f.
951-952: 175 f.
953-955: 175 f.
959: 176
966-968: 177
982: 52, 177
983: 177 n. 38
989-1004: 177 ff.
989: 179
994: 19, 178, 180
995: 52, 178
997: 19, 52, 178 n. 40
998-1004: 179 f.
999: 18, 19, 179 f.
1001: 180
1003: 180
1004: 180

Aristophanes
Nubes 468: 102

Choeroboscus *ad* Heph. *Enchir.*
p. 210, 13 Consbr.: 100 n. 83
p. 238: 73

Euripides
Hecuba
76 f.: 89
80: 89
89: 87
94: 89
128: 87
164: 90
858: 122 n. 8
868: 86

Helena 218: 79 f.

Heracles Furens 924: 231

Iphigenia Taurica 1103 ff.: 79

Orestes
146: 89
207: 89
286: 87
1094: 121 n. 6
1255: 89
1287: 89
1492: 89

Phoenissae
202-260: 87
251: 88 f.
253: 89
260: 87
554: 87
584: 128
629: 87
636: 87
669: 89
673: 87, 88
689: 89
796 ff.: 89
1050: 87, 121 n. 6
1282: 127
1353: 87
1715: 87
1741 ff.: 88
1743: 87, 88

Hephaestion
p. 17, 17 Consbr.: 180 n. 43
p. 24, 15: 158 n. 3
p. 32, 5 f.: 72
p. 57, 13: 72 n. 45
p. 57, 20: 72 n. 45
p. 60, 21: 111 n. 111
p. 63, 4: 111 n. 111
p. 64, 22: 111 n. 111
p. 65, 3: 111 n. 111
p. 66, 24-67, 5: 111 n. 111
p. 67, 12: 111 n. 111
p. 67, 14: 111 n. 111
p. 69, 10: 111 n. 111

Hesychius
s.v. θυμοβόροιο: 233

Pindar
Isth. VIII 15: 80
Pyth. I 78: 122 n. 8

Scholia A,
Aesch. *Sept.*
311: 36
764: 198

Scholia M,
Aesch. *Ag.* 101: 232
Aesch. *Pers.* 6: 36
Aesch. *Sept.* 79: 36
Aesch. *Suppl.* 850: 233 n. 4

Scholia Thomana,
Aesch. *Sept.*
102: 19
332: 14
335: 14
364: 194 n. 64
508: 14
540: 14
615: 14
617: 14
619: 14
624: 14
686: 138 n. 29
998: 18

Scholia τ,
Aesch. *Ag.*
1: 6, 9, 24, 219
2: 23, 60
22: 23, 60 n. 20
40: 9, 24, 156
104-175: 24, 148
120: 225
140: 6
355: 58, 156
367: 75
681: 24
810: 24
975: 24
1072: 24, 64 f., 146
1114: 150 f.
1178: 57
1331: 108, 111
1448 ff.: 64, 71, 75
1468 ff.: 75
1537 ff.: 60
1560-1566: 64

Aesch. *Eum.*,
1: 71
276: 110 n. 110
281: 110 n. 110
321: 75
566: 110 n. 110
778: 108
916-1020: 65 f., 75
923-925: 56, 58 n. 12, 67, 70, 128, 153
938-947: 66, 71, 75
956: 75
976-987: 66, 75
996-1002: 75
1014-1200: 75

Aesch. *Pers.*
1: 6 n. 7, 8, 110, 163
114: 163 n. 14
159: 6 n. 7
215: 110 n. 110
249: 65, 110 n. 110
256: 65
262: 24, 65
268: 24, 65
274: 24, 65
280: 24, 65
286: 65
290: 110 n. 110
532-597: 67 f.
548-583: 75
571-573: 68, 210
576: 211
584: 156

632: 70
681: 110 n. 110
908: 107, 218
917: 68, 69, 217
931: 219
978: 220
1000: 221
1009: 164 n. 16, 222
1056: 70, 225

Aesch. *Septem*
1: 110, 112
78 ff.: 56, 71, 162, 180 ff.
203-241: 20, 24, 66, 72 f.
203-207: 115, 123
229: 120
287 ff.: 20, 68, 188
375-719: 65, 110
417-421: 65, 74, 126
452: 65
481: 65
521: 65
563: 65
626: 65, 124 n. 10
686: 65, 124
698: 65
722: 68, 195 f.
733: 196 f.
792: 110 n. 110
822 ff.: 20, 110, 155 f., 156 n. 1
832-833: 20
884: 68
927: 76
1054: 107, 110

Scholia T,
Aesch. *Ag.*
40: 24, 41 f.
62: 35
160: 237
355: 58
367: 58
492: 35
681-773: 24
783: 24
975: 24
998: 24
1001: 24
1017: 24
1035: 24
1072: 146
1117: 151
1537 ff.: 60

Aesch. *Eum.*
2: 37
140: 148
365b: 39
502-505: 39
515-518: 39
870: 108 n. 106
1014: 108 n. 106

Aesch. *Pers.*
1: 42, 111 n. 111
6: 35, 200
21: 200
117: 204 n. 80
125: 180
319: 37
451: 37
473: 37
532: 72 n. 45, 158 n. 3, 168 n. 24, 206 n. 83
568: 211
584: 103
594: 37
632: 70, 131, 157 n. 2, 185 n. 49, 213
647: 215 f.
700: 108 n. 106
742: 37
776: 70
795: 41
863: 70, 217
878: 168 n. 24
915: 218
919: 37
927: 157 n. 2, 218
949: 37
955: 163
966: 168 n. 24
1009: 222
1025: 69, 131, 185 n. 49, 224
1033: 37
1041: 37

Aesch. *Prom.*
128: 108 n. 106, 111 n. 111, 213 n. 93
144: 124 n. 10
159: 104, 108 n. 106
178: 124 n. 10
186: 108 n. 106
233: 185 n. 49
235: 69, 185 n. 49
241: 40

351: 6 n. 7
394: 185 n. 49
397: 42, 111 n. 111
400: 70
410: 38
425: 213 n. 93
451: 185 n. 49
526: 111 n. 111, 213 n. 93
538: 168 n. 24
561: 111 n. 111
568: 185 n. 49
583: 72
617: 185 n. 49
682: 185 n. 49
770: 185 n. 49
853: 40

Aesch. *Sept.*
2: 42
78 ff.: 41, 56, 111 n. 111
80: 35, 36
92: 41
100: 19, 184
151: 56, 74, 131
154: 188
166: 56
203-207: 118 n. 4
211: 74
223-225: 38
224: 38
233: 122
239: 108 n. 106
240: 121
264: 194 n. 64
287: 190 n. 57
311: 35
452: 124 n. 10
481: 128, 129
521: 70, 124 n. 10, 128 f., 129 n. 17
534: 35, 36
626: 136
698: 140 n. 34, 140 n. 35
722: 196
778: 72
784: 199
822: 156 n. 1
832: 164 n. 16
854: 162 f.
884: 166
918: 68, 130, 170
941: 174 n. 32
959: 131, 176, 185 n. 49
975: 111 n. 111
978: 177
986: 177
994: 179
999: 19, 179 f.
1054: 157 n. 2, 158 n. 3

Scholia cod. *Est.* α.U. 9.22,
Arist. *Nub.*
263: 100 n. 83
275: 100 n. 83

Scholia cod. *Par. gr.* 2821
Arist. *Nub.*
275: 100 n. 83
510: 95

Plut.
322: 97 n. 77
415: 97 n. 77
487: 95, 104, 104 n. 98

Scholia T,
Arist. *Equ.*
1: 110
498-506: 108, 157 n. 2
507: 157 n. 2
756-823: 108

Arist. *Nub.*
275: 100 n. 83
277-278: 124 n. 10
291: 110 n. 110
314: 110, 110 n. 110
439-456: 110
468: 102
1009 ff.: 102

Arist. *Plut.*
253: 104 n. 98
286: 42, 101
415: 97 n. 77
487: 104
1171: 110

Arist. *Ran.*
340: 104 n. 98
875-894: 108
905: 104 n. 98
1408: 42

Scholia Tzetzae,
Arist. *Plut.* 487: 103 n. 94

Scholia Parm.-Mutin.,
Eur. *Hec.*
1: 94 n. 73
59: 94 n. 73
154 ff.: 84, 94 n. 73
444-483: 94 n. 73
629 ff.: 94 n. 73
689: 94 n. 73
905 ff.: 94 n. 73
1024 ff.: 94 n. 73

Eur. *Or.*
1: 94 n. 73
140: 94 n. 73
316 ff.: 94 n. 73
729 ff.: 94 n. 73, 95
807 ff.: 94 n. 73
960: 94 n. 73
1361 ff.: 94 n. 73
1273 ff.: 94 n. 73

Eur. *Phoen.*
1: 94 n. 73
103 ff.: 85, 94 n. 73
202 ff.: 87, 94 n. 73
291: 94 n. 73
638 ff.: 94 n. 73
638 ff.: 94 n. 73
784 ff.: 94 n. 73
1019 ff.: 94 n. 73
1283 ff.: 94 n. 73
1480 ff.: 94 n. 73
1485 ff.: 94 n. 73
1710 ff.: 94 n. 73

Scholia T,
Eur. *Alc.* 872 ff.: 75
Eur. *Andr.* 117: 77
Eur. *Bacch.*
519: 78
594: 78
597: 78

Eur. *Cycl.*
356: 77
495: 76

Eur. *El.*
866: 77
880: 77
1147: 75

Eur. *Hec.*
16-27: 200 n. 74
59: 111 n. 111
93: 157 n. 2
444: 111 n. 111, 164 n. 16
629: 42, 111 n. 111, 163
647: 111 n. 111
688: 111 n. 111
1008: 103
1024: 111 n. 111
1056: 111 n. 111
1088: 111 n. 111

Eur. *Hel.*
60: 200 n. 74
330-385: 78
375: 78
515: 75
615: 76

Eur. *Hcld.*
75: 77
407: 45

Eur. *Hipp.*
61: 76
174: 78
265: 78
669: 76

Eur. *Ion* 886: 76

Eur. *I.A.* 1627: 76

Eur. *I.T.*
123: 76 f.
143: 76 f.
1103 ff.: 79

Eur. *Med.*
148: 78
173: 78
180: 78
204: 78
1251: 75
1271 ff.: 78

Eur. *Or.*
190: 41
195: 124 n. 10
348: 206 n. 82
496-504: 200 n. 74
523: 41
807: 168 n. 24
982: 103

1266: 124 n. 10
1273: 124 n. 10
1426: 68 n. 40
1453: 168 n. 24
1537: 216 n. 100

Eur. *Phoen.*
202 ff.: 41 f., 87
260: 87
784: 72 n. 45
1282: 132 f.

Eur. *Rhes.*
131 ff.: 77
538 ff.: 77
674: 76
692: 75
895 ff.: 78
897: 78

Eur. *Suppl.*
42: 76
271: 77
778 ff.: 78 n. 53

Scholia cod. Upps. *gr.* 15,
Eur. *Hec.* 59-215: 108 n. 106, 133 n. 19
Eur. *Phoen.* 102 ff.: 133 n. 19

Scholia cod. *Vat. gr.* 51,
Eur. *Or.* 1554: 81 n. 56
Eur. *Phoen.*: 81 n. 56

Scholia A Heph.
32, 7: 72
108, 10: 100 n. 83
138, 12: 104 n. 98
153, 19: 68 n. 40
168, 17 ff.: 164 n. 16

Scholia B Heph. 275, 18: 158 n. 3

Scholia Lycophr.
23: 36
143: 35 f.

Scholia T,
Pind.
Ol. I 2: 104 n. 98
Ol. II 1: 164 n. 16
Ol. III: 68 n. 40
Ol. IV: 180 n. 43
Ol. V: 168 n. 24
Ol. XIII: 168 n. 24
Pyth. V: 73 n. 46

Scholia cod. *Vat. gr.* 47, Soph.: 36

Scholia T,
Soph. *Ajax*
75: 41
134: 41
160: 157 n. 2
172: 42, 103, 111 n. 111
176: 80 n. 55
182: 80 n. 55
183: 80 n. 55
184: 80 n. 55
192: 80 n. 55, 111 n. 111
195: 80 n. 55
196: 80 n. 55
199: 80 n. 55
201: 111 n. 111
202 f.: 80 n. 55
221: 111 n. 111, 164 n. 16
596: 42
693: 103
733: 42, 101
925: 188 n. 54
946: 124 n. 10
955: 124 n. 10

Soph. *Ant.*
100: 111 n. 111
117: 124 n. 10
147: 124 n. 10
823: 124 n. 10

Soph. *El.*
145: 168 n. 24
1239: 73 n. 46

Soph. *Oed. Col.*
: 134
117: 148
1491: 133

Soph. *O.R.*
151: 73 n. 46, 111 n. 111
1313: 73 n. 46
1515 ff.: 42 n. 70

Soph. *Phil.*
561: 6 n. 7
1163: 147

Soph. *Trach.* 947: 111 n. 111

Sophocles,
Ajax 384: 128
El. 230: 122 n. 9

Thomas Magister, Ecl. 181, 10: 162 n. 13

Tractatus Harleianus
18b: 96 n. 74
20: 158 n. 3

Trichas,
περὶ μέτρων
371, 27 Consbr.: 180 n. 43
374, 1: 104 n. 98
376, 10: 104 n. 98
379, 30: 104 n. 98
384, 3: 104 n. 98
389, 13 f.: 104 n. 98
389, 22 f.: 104 n. 98

Triclinius, *Epit. Heph.* 16: 180 n. 43

Triclinius, περὶ σελήνης 65: 4 n. 7

Tzetzes,
de metris Pindaricis 65, 7: 180 n. 43
περὶ μέτρων 312, 23 ff.: 73

GENERAL INDEX

Aeschylus, quotations of, in Byzantine literature: 1 n. 2
Aldine edition
of Aeschylus: 34, 213
of Aristophanes: 98 n. 79
Anapaestic
clausulae: 63
metra, measure of: 102, 219
tetrameter, description of: 95 f.
'Ανομοιόστροφα: 111 n. 111
'Αποθετικόν: 157
Antispastic metre in τ: 72 ff.
Apostolarius, Ioannes Anagnostes: 47
Apostolis, Michael: 32 f.
Aratus: 26
Aristophanes, Triclinian edition of: see *Triclinius*
Aristophaneum, description of: 104
Arsenius Apostolides: 32 f.
Asulanus, F.: 152
Asynartetic cola: 204
Atumanus, Simon: 13 f.
work on F: 14
Aurispa, G.: 49

Barbadoro, Bartholomeo: 54
Barlaam of Calabria: 4 n. 7, 13
Bitzimanus, Thomas: 32

Cabasilas, Demetrius, various persons of the name: 51, 182 n. 45
Cabasilas, Nicolaus: 4 n. 7, 51
Catrares, Ioannes: 4, 6 ff., 10, 141
Choriambic metre in τ: 74 ff., 118, 126, 172, 181
Chumnus, Nicephorus: 51
Cinnamus, Georgius: 199 n. 72
Cola, types of, in τ: 70 ff.
Colometrical signs: 59, 107
Colometry,
stability of, in the MSS: 91, 114
corrections of: 16 ff., 20 n. 46, 79, 91, 114 n. 2, 115 ff. *passim*
Colometrical corrections in τ: 115ff. *passim*
Constantinus, one: 11
Corbinelli, Antonio: 49 f.
Coronis, Triclinius' use of: 96 n. 77, 107 n. 103
Corrections
for reasons of colometry: see *colometrical corrections*
made upon MS authority: 131 *passim*
metrical, in Parma 154: 87 ff.
textual, in τ: 116 ff. *passim*
textual, in T: 118 ff. *passim*
to avoid hypercatalectic cola 185, 186 *passim*
Cross used as an indication of authorship: 23, 35
Cydones, Demetrius: 51

Dactyls, measure of: 80 n. 55, 100 n. 83, 102 f., 104 n. 98
Damilas, Antonius: 10 n. 19
Deletions, method of marking, in Triclinian MSS: 116, 138, 153, 166, 170, 176
Devaris, Matthaeus: 96 n. 77
διὰ τὸ ἑξῆς: 63, 163
Differences,
general, between τ and T: 56 ff., 63 ff., 10 ff., 126, 128, 144 f.
in the non-triadic plays: 146 ff., 233 f.
Dionysius Periegetes: 11, 12, 14 n. 32
διπλαῖ, Triclinius' use of: 108 n. 106
διπλῆ: 56, 59 f., 106 f., 108 n. 106, 133 n. 19
καθόλου: 110 n. 110
μερική: 110 n. 110
Disagreements in the poetic text between G, F and E: 153, 202 ff.
Discrepancies
between text and scholia in GFE: 60 f., 118, *passim*
internal, in the τ scholia: 64 ff., 68
διωρθώθη παρ' ἐμοῦ (ἡμῶν): 129 ff., 162 n. 13
Dochmiacs: 72
εἰ βούλει: 63
εἴη δ' ἄν: 63 n. 32

εἴσβασις: 94 n. 73
εἴσθεσις: 94 n. 73, 109 f.
ἔκθεσις: 94 n. 73, 109 f.
ἐναλλάττειν: 188 n. 54
ἐπῳδικά: 111 n. 111
Eratosthenes: 36
Eustathius: 28 n. 62
ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ: 129 ff., 166 f.

Fabriano paper: 92 n. 70
Farnese, Alessandro: 34, 39

Gabras, Michael: 51
Generalization of cola: 115 ff. *passim*
Gregoras, Nicephorus: 51
Guzman, F. N. de: 26, 32 f., 32 n. 74

Hephaestion used by Triclinius: 109, 111 n. 111, 111 ff.
Hesiod, Triclinian recension of: see *Triclinius*
Honorius, Ioannes: 34, 39
Hypercatalectic cola: 71, 114 see also *Corrections*

Iambs
 in anapaestic cola: 158 n. 3
 in trochaic cola: 180
Indications of speakers: 172 f.
Indications of colometrical division: 20, 20 n. 46, 120
Interpolation,
 metrical, in pre-Triclinian MSS: 61, 197
 Thoman: 197 n. 10
Inventory
 of Library of Palazzo Farnese: 39
 of S. Marco Library: 23
 of Salamanca Library: 31 f.
Ionics in τ: 67 f.
Isolation of blocks of similar cola: 162 *passim*
ἰσόμετρα: 124

κατακόρως χρήσασθαι: 104
κατὰ σχέσιν: 111 n. 111
κοινὴ (συλλαβή): 59

Lascaris, Ianus: 83
Lay-out of Triclinian MSS: 38
Lianori, Lianoro de': 32 n. 74
Lippi, Lorenzo: 10 n. 19
Long scholia: see *Scholia*
Lycophron: 11 ff., 35 f.

Michelotius, Nicolaus: 82 n. 58
Monometer: 63, 157
Monostrophic analysis: 56 n. 4, 64 ff.
μονόστροφος: 94 n. 73
μονοστροφικά: 111 n. 111
Moschopulus, Manuel: 23 n. 50, 50, 86, 89, 90, 121 n. 6
MSS,
 material of: 7 f.
 use of, by Byzantine philologists: 3 n. 5
Musurus, Marcus: 98 n. 79

οἰκείως πρὸς τὰ κῶλα/τὰ μέτρα: 123, 136 *passim*
ὅμοια κῶλα: 123 f.

Padiates, Leo: 92 n. 70
Paeons
 in choriambic cola: 119, 139
 not admitted in τ: 126, 142
παλαιόν (-ά): see *Scholia*
παρατέλευτον: 157, 163
Parma-Modena scholia, metrical terminology of: 94 n. 73
paroemiac: 63, 157
Περδίκης, 'Ακίνδυνος: 207 n. 85
περιοδικά: 143, 159 n. 6, 164
περίοδος: 111, 164 n. 16
Pindar: 42, 62, 63, 68 n. 40
Planudes, Maximus: 225 n. 109
Platonios: 25 n. 58
Prometheus in τ: 21 f., 30 f.
Prosodiacs: 68, 68 n. 40
Pyrules, Demetrius: 97 n. 78

Recanati, Giovanni Batista: 10
Ridolfi, Cardinal: 96 n. 77
Robortello, F.: 23, 52
 his sources: 52 ff.

Scholia,
 Byzantine on Sophocles: 7 n. 7
 long and short: 67 f.
 marked by initial capital: 36 f.
 marked by ἡμέτερον: 35
 marked by παλαιόν: 23, 35

marked by cross: 23, 23 n. 50, 35, 60
metrical, in Uppsala *gr.* 15: 133 n. 19

Short scholia: see *Scholia*

Signs,
colometrical: see *Colometrical signs*
for κοινὴ συλλαβή: 59

Simonides: 42

Sirleto, G.: 24, 39, 40

Sophocles: 5 f., 9 f., 11 ff.
Triclinian metrical notes on: see *Triclinius*
Paris recension of: 92 n. 70
text in G: 9 f.

Stephanus, H.: 39 n. 95, 195 n. 65

Strophic analysis in τ: 64 ff., 114 ff.

Strophic responsion
in T: 117 ff. *passim*
in L: 78 ff.

Suliardus, Michael: 84

Syllabic correspondence: 121 *passim*

σύστημα: 94 n. 72, 103 n. 93, 111 f., 111 n. 111

συστήματα ἐπιφθεγματικά: 206 n. 82

συστημάτιον: 94 n. 72

σχήματα: 200 n. 74

τ, reconstruction of: 27 ff.

τάξις: 72 n. 45

τέλος: 94 n. 72

τετράκωλος περίοδος: 200 n. 74

Thomas Magister,
scholia on Aeschylus: 36 f.
recension of Aeschylus: 8 n. 12
recension of Aristophanes: 132 n. 18
recension of the dramatists: 132 n. 18
recension of Euripides: 8 n. 12, 81 n. 56, 86, 90, 132
recension of Sophocles: 8 n. 12, 80 n. 55, 133 f.

Trichas, Triclinius influenced by: 104 n. 98

Triclines, Georgius: 4 n. 7

Triclines, the name: 4 n. 7

Triclines, Nicolaus: 4, 16 n. 39, 69 n. 42, 80 n. 55, 99 n. 80, 180 n. 43

Triclines, Nilus: 4 n. 7

Triclines, one: 4 n. 7

Triclinius, Demetrius,
authorship of emendations: 230 ff.
authorship of the GFE commentary: 55 ff.
authorship of the *Par.* 2821 commentary 95 ff.
authorship of the Parma-Modena scholia 81 ff.
biography: 4, 21, 41 ff.
chronology of his work: 41 ff., 72 n. 44, 74 n. 49, 101, 108 ff.
criteria for his work: 63, 68 ff.
dated MSS of: 43
distinguishes between his own and Thomas' readings: 129 ff.
edition of Aristophanes: 25 n. 58, 42 f., 49, 96 ff., 148
edition of Euripides: 41 ff., 132
edition of Hesiod: 11 n. 25, 50 f., 97 n. 78, 199 n. 72
edition of Pindar: 44, 45, 47 f., 50, 63
edition of Sophocles: 41 ff., 92 n. 70, 147 ff.
edition of Theocritus: 45
metrical notes in L: 74 ff., 80 n. 55
metrical notes in *Vat. gr.* 51: 81 n. 56
MSS sources: 130, 166 f. *passim*
prefatory treatises: 25 n. 58
refers to his other commentaries: 41 ff., 101
returns to old colometry in T: 119 *passim*
returns to old tradition in T: 137 *passim*
scriptorium of: 4, 7, 21, 41 ff.
style of writing: 16 n. 39, 43 f., 74 n. 49, 99 n. 80
testimony as to old MSS: 185 n. 49
treatment of old MS authority: 130 ff.
use of metrical arguments: 131 f. *passim*

Trochaic tetrameter, description of: 95

Turnebus, A.: 84 n. 65, 212 n. 90

Tzetzes, Isaac: 62 f.

Tzetzes, Ioannes: 103 f.

Valla, Giorgio: 83 f.

Victorius, Petrus: 14, 23 f., 40, 54, 55 n. 1, 225 n. 108

Watermark
Briq.
485: 5
492: 34 n. 83
707: 48
1644: 49
2946: 82
3165: 46, 47, 97 n. 78
3171: 97 n. 78
3185: 47
3187: 48, 97 n. 78
3191: 47
3194: 47
3230: 49, 96 n. 77
3518-3524: 81 n. 56
3675: 32 n. 66
4708: 83 n. 63
5523: 12
5591: 44
5904: 32 n. 66
6252: 48
7482: 34
7484 (= M.T. 4610): 34, 81 n. 56
7514: 47
7926: 81 n. 56
8442: 83 n. 63
11722: 83 n. 63
11727: 83 n. 63
11730-11731: 82
12005: 92 n. 70
12468: 44
14096-14097: 49
14101: 34
14109: 34
15813: 32 n. 66
16014: 69 n. 42
M.T.
66: 50
219: 50
257-258: 46
1937-1959: 46
1973-1989: 47
1991-2009: 48 f.
1996: 48
2022: 97 n. 78
2031: 97 n. 78
2984: 50
3518: 12
3523: 10 n. 19
3818-3828: 81 n. 56
3821: 10 n. 19
4147: 10 n. 19
4215: 50
4222: 50
4290: 46
4610 (= Briq. 7484): 81 n. 56
4626: 46
4700 (= Briq. 7514): 47
5093 (= Briq. 7926): 81 n. 56
5299: 10 n. 19
5495-5497: 12
5499: 81 n. 56
6189: 12
6844: 50
6951: 50
Crown type B: 48
Flacon: 48
Letter A: 81 n. 56
Letter R: 12
Letters FA NA: 92 n. 70
Letters NA: 92 n. 70

Ζειανός, Ἰωάννης: 225 n. 109

ὑπόθεσις: 156

χοριαμβικά: 74 ff.
χορός: 71, 94 n. 73

ψ,
date of Triclinius' find of: 45
old scholia in: 35, 39
reconstruction of: 28 ff.

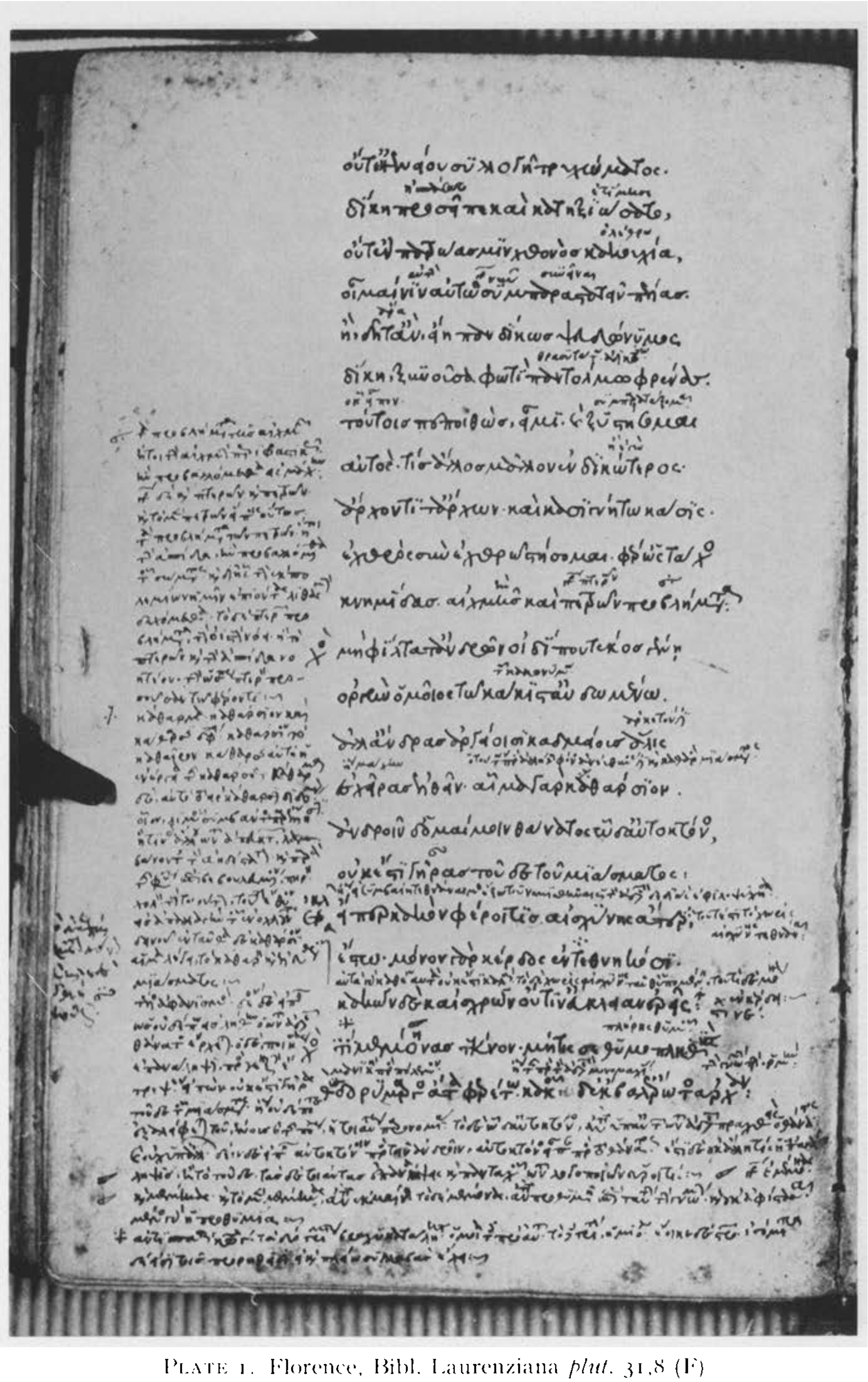

PLATE 1. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana *plut.* 31,8 (F)
f. 41v: Aesch. *Sept.* 666-688

PLATE 2. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana *plut.* 31,8 (F)
f. 47r: Aesch. *Sept.* 984-1014

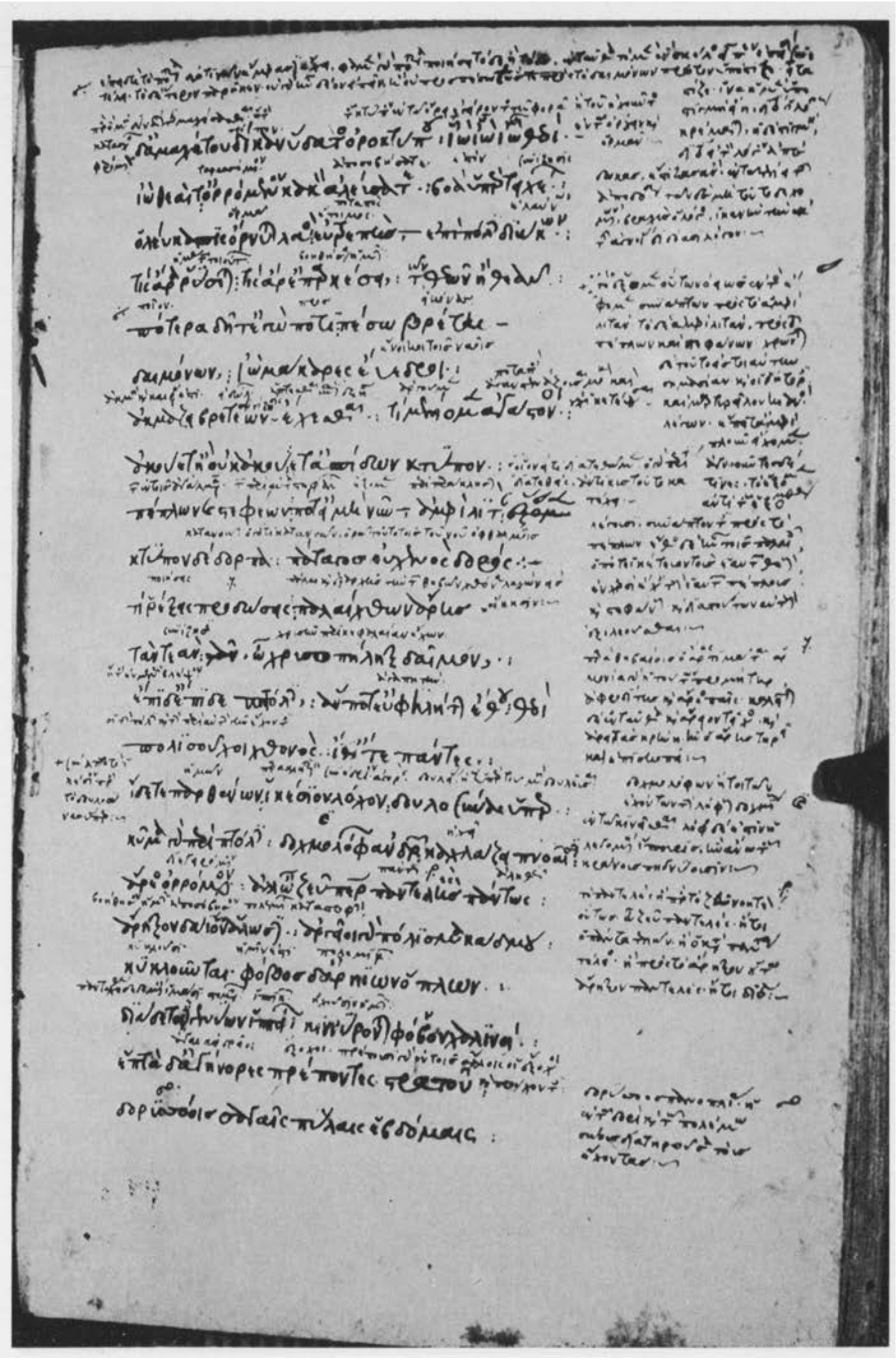

PLATE 3. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana *plut.* 31,8 (F)
f. 30r: Aesch. *Sept.* 85-125

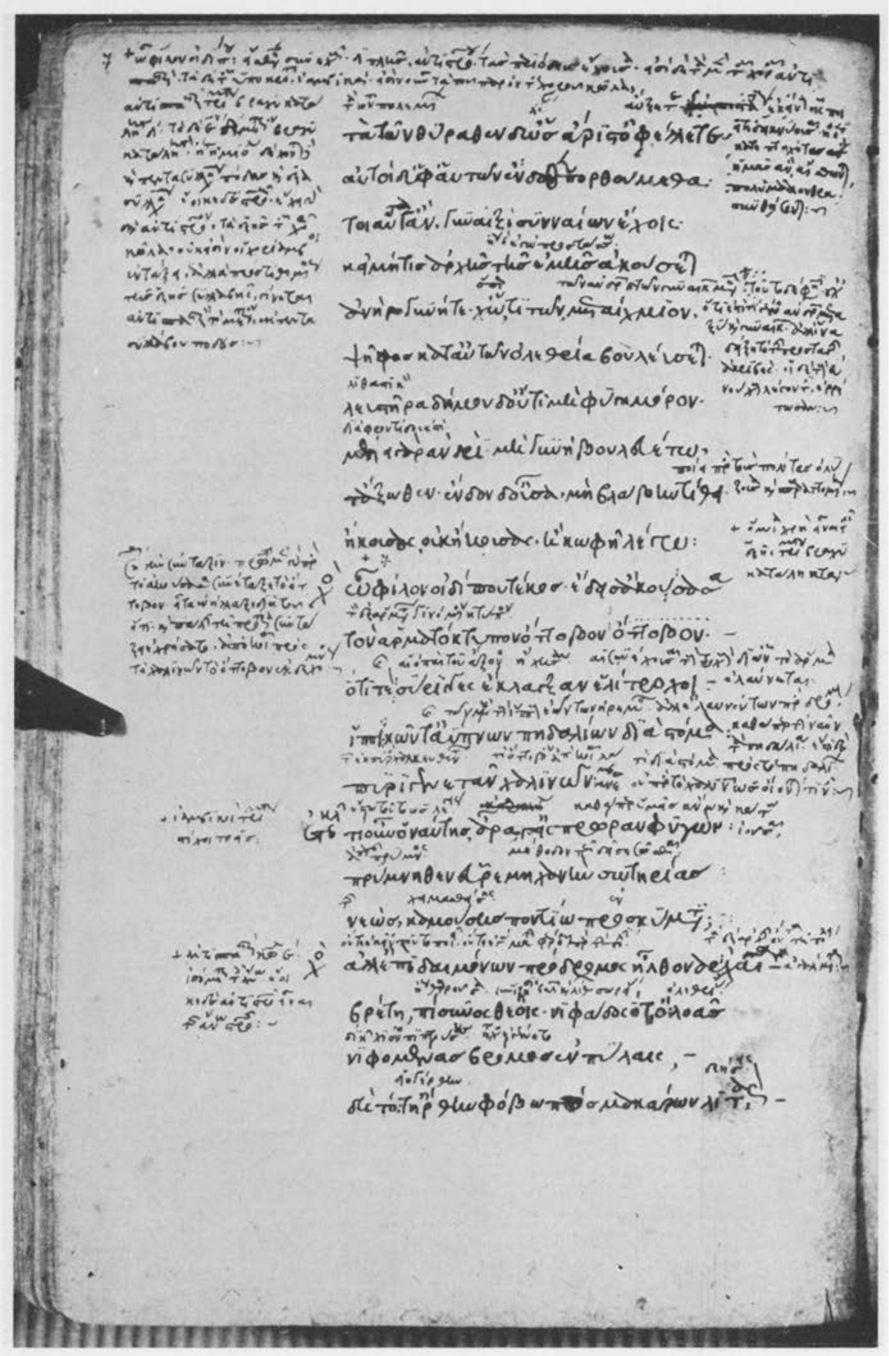

PLATE 4. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana *plut.* 31,8 (F)
f. 31v: Aesch. *Sept.* 193-214

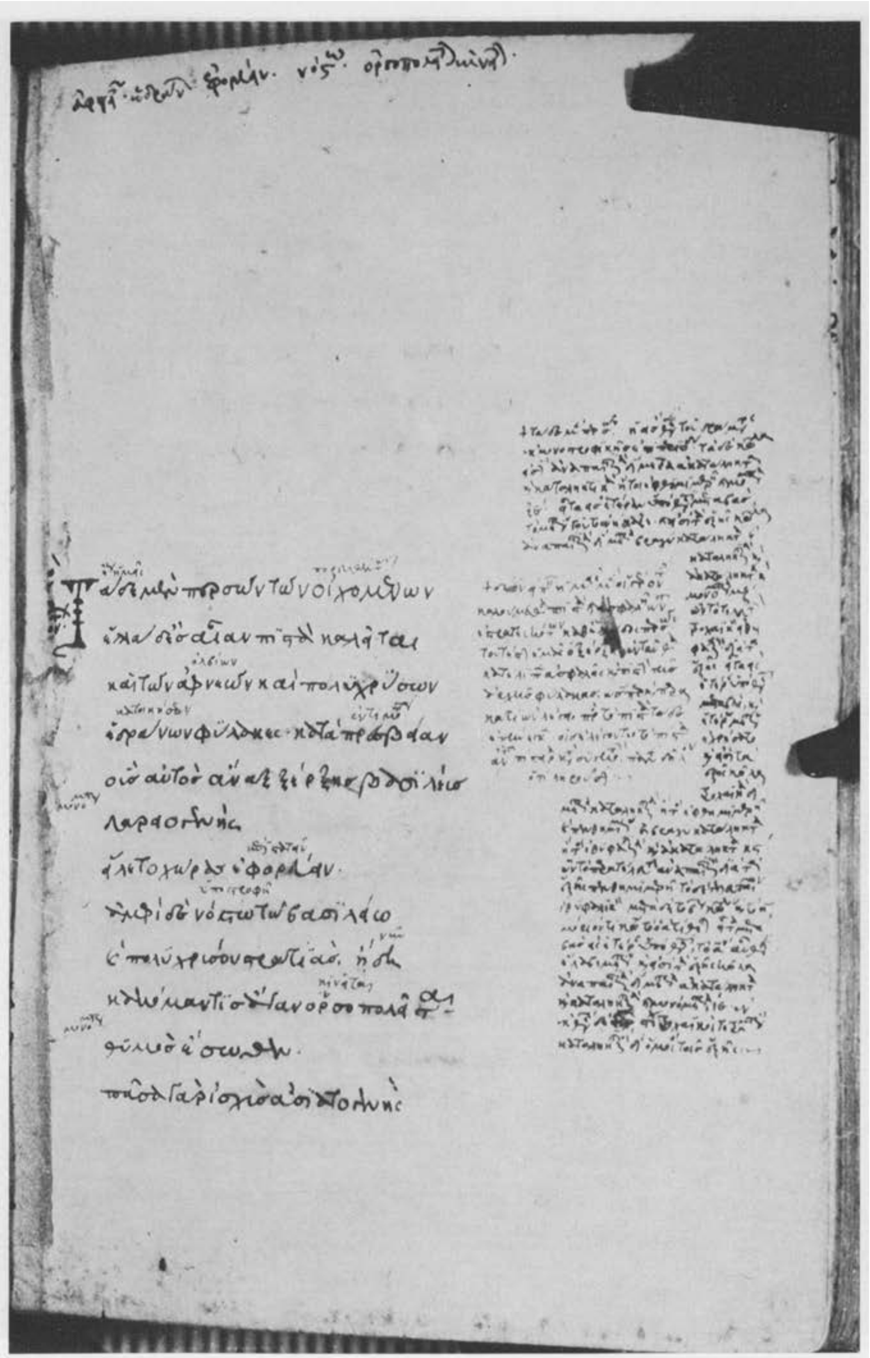

PLATE 5. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana *plut.* 31,8 (F)
f. 49r: Aesch. *Pers.* 1-12

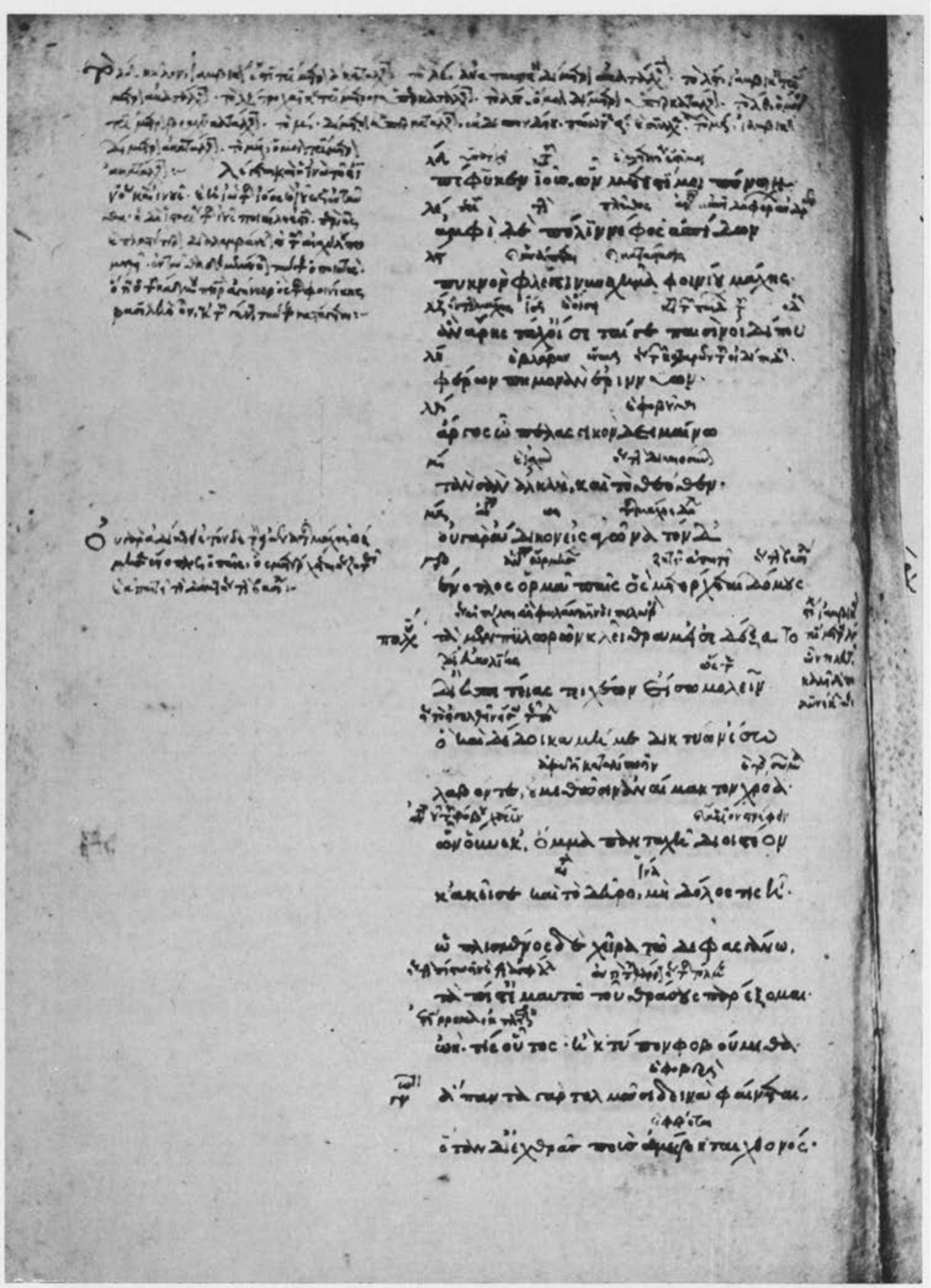

PLATE 6. Parma, Bibl. Palatina *Fondo Parmense* 154
f. 79v: Eur. *Phoen.* 248-271

PLATE 7. Paris, Bibl. Nationale *Ancien fonds grec* 2821
f. 15r: Aristoph. *Plut.* 485-504

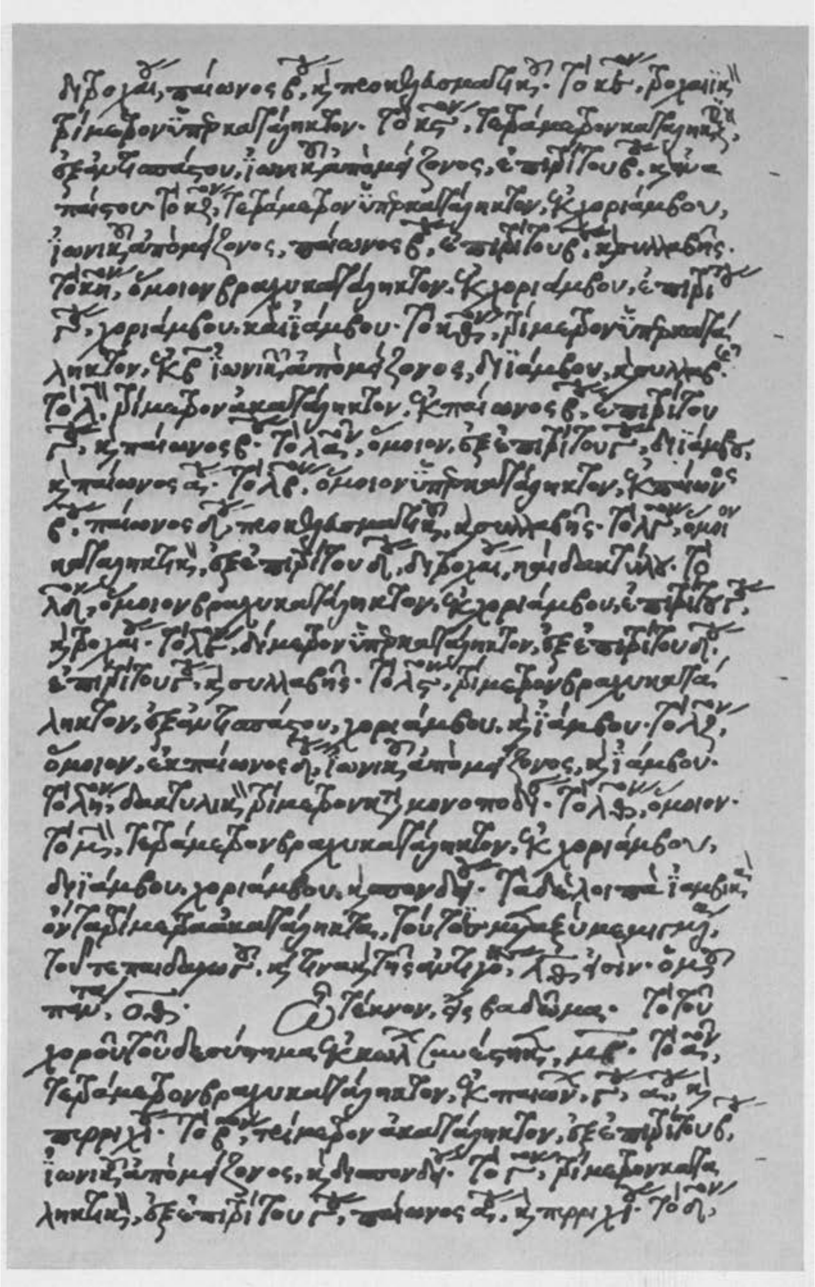

PLATE 8. Modena, Bibl. Estense *cod.* α.U. 9.22 (gr. 93) f. 93v: Scholia metrica in Eur. *Phoen.* 168-192; 202-205

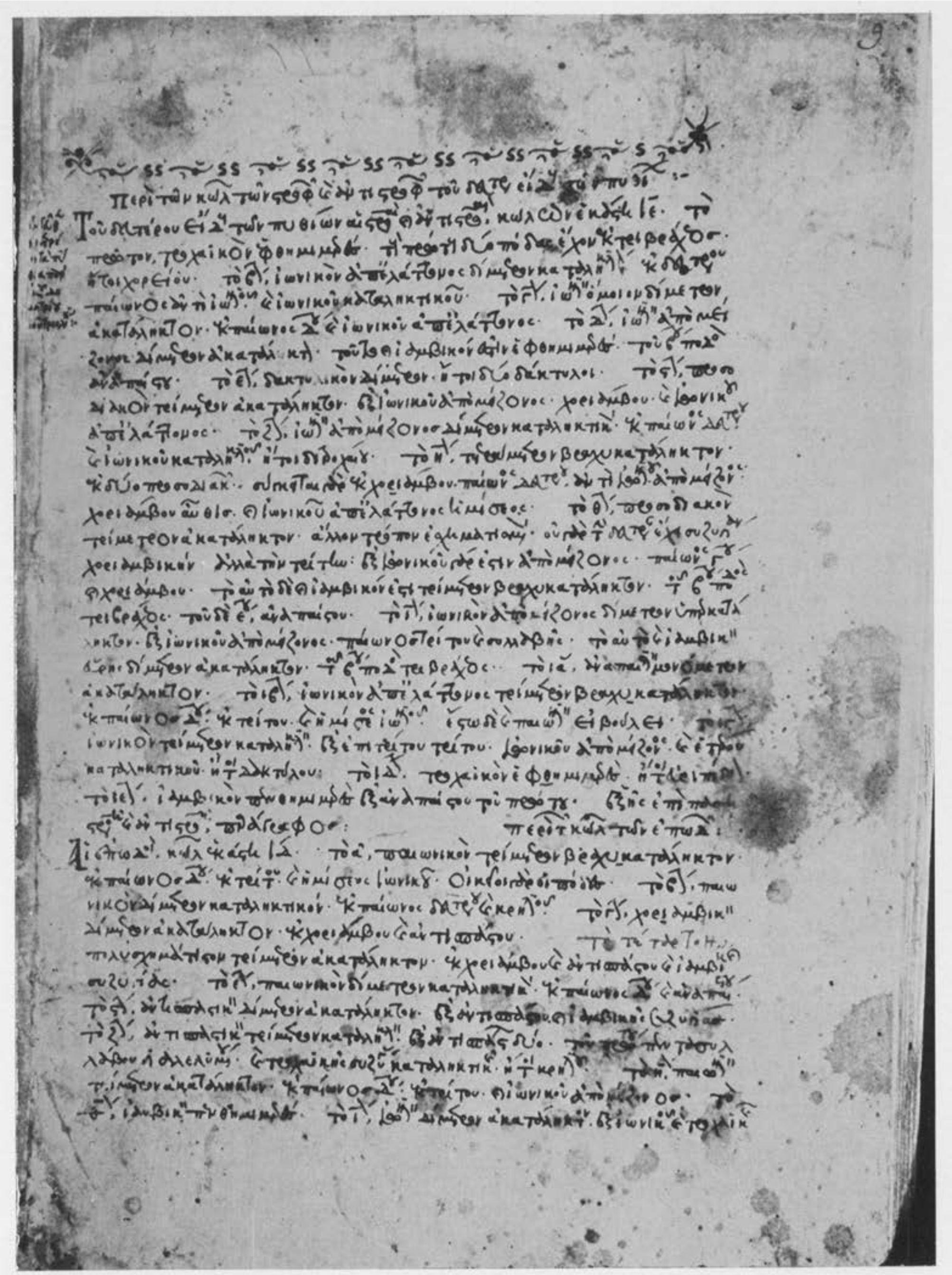

PLATE 9. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana *Conventi soppressi* 94 f. 9r: Scholia metrica tricliniana in Pind. *Pyth.* II (Note ascription to Triclinius in upper left corner)

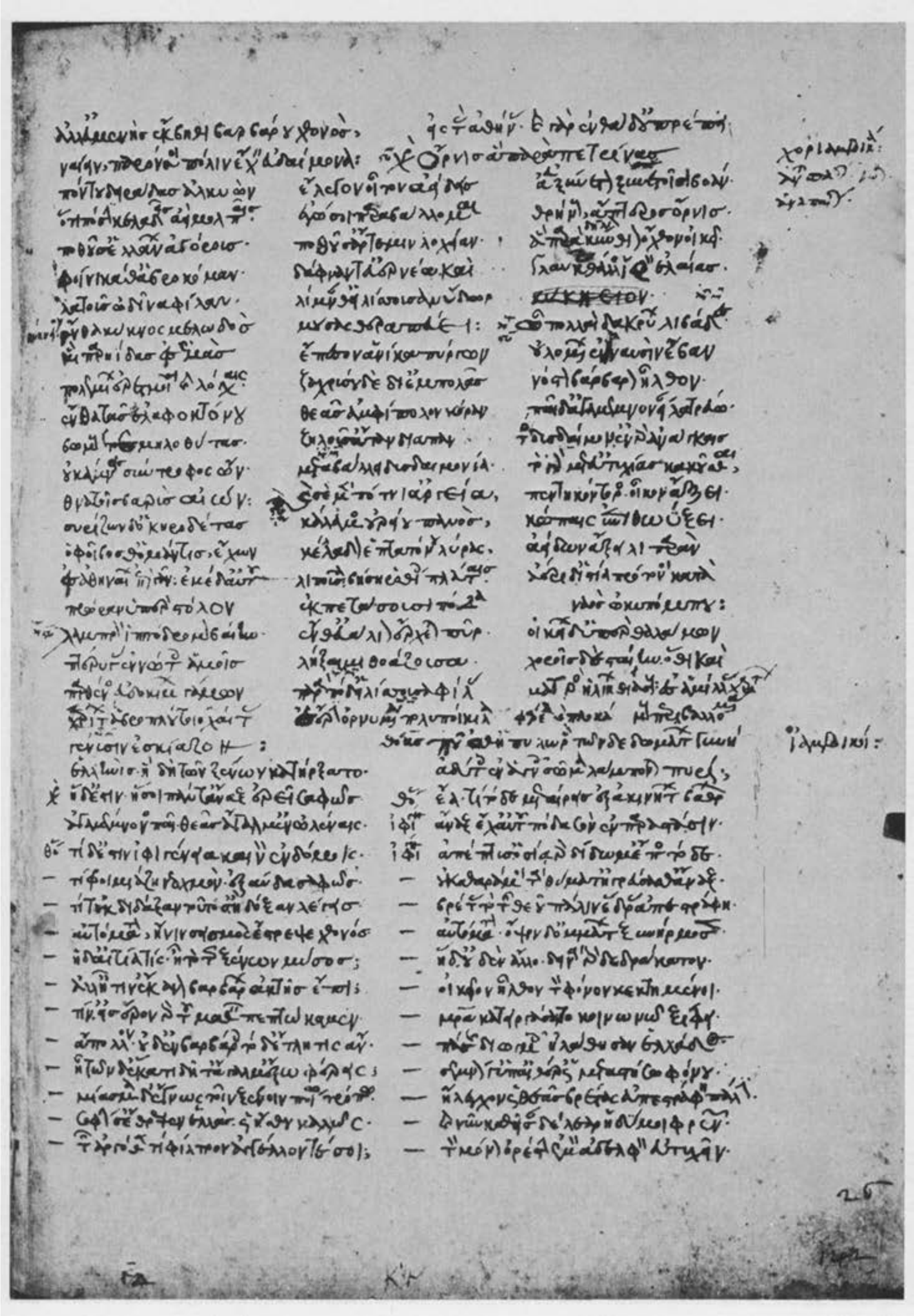

PLATE 10. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana *plut.* 32,2
f. 142r: Eur. I.T. 1086-1183 with metrical notes by Triclinius.

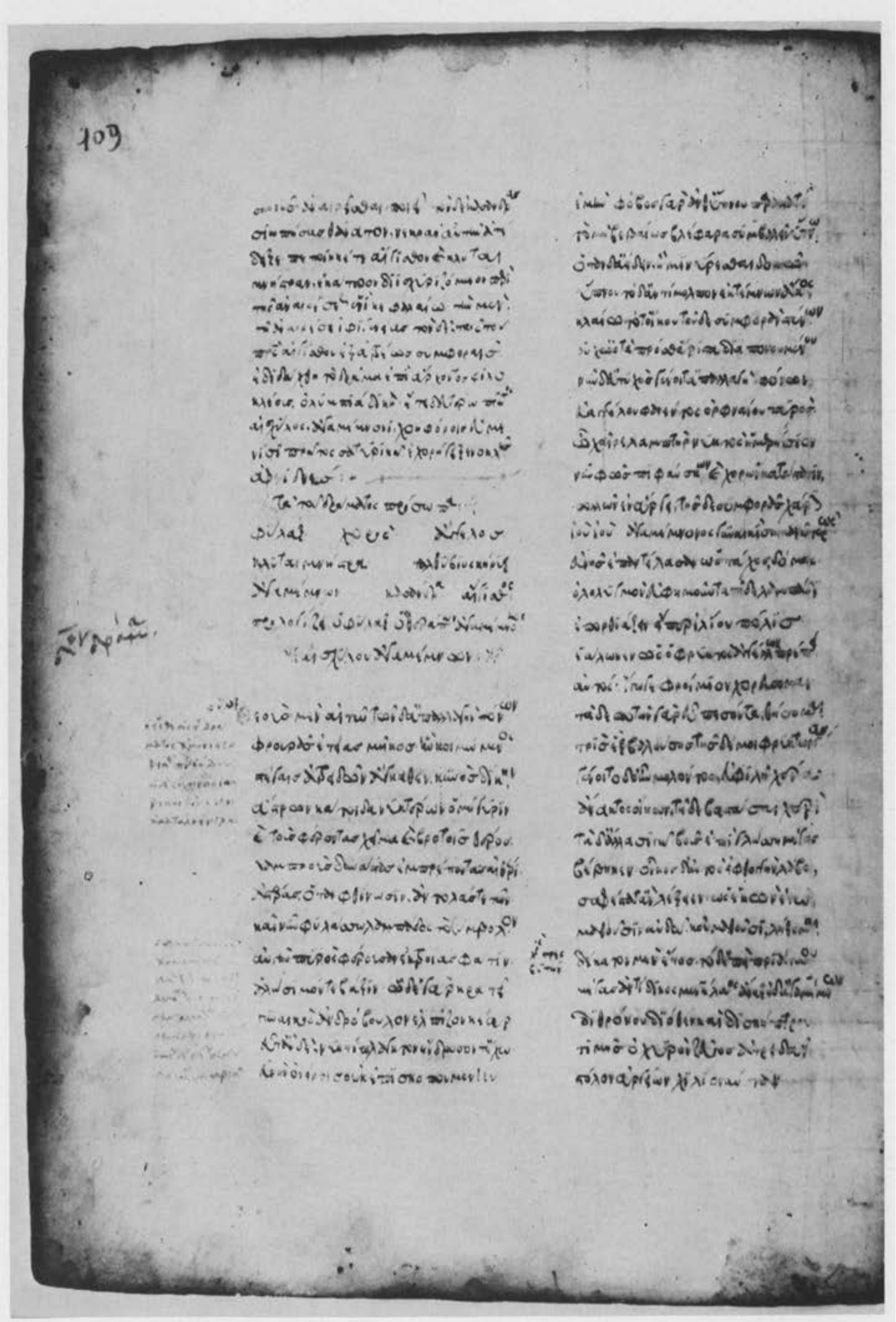

PLATE 11. Venice, Bibl. Marciana gr. 616 (G)
f. 109v: Arg. *Ag.* and *Ag.* 1-45 with metrical scholia written by Ioannes Catrares.